

A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power
which places all authority, wealth
and arms in the hands of the People"



A Publication of the December 12th Movement

March/April 1994 vol. 4, no. 3 50¢

The Rise of the Right in Urban Amerikkka

Mayor
Adolph Giuliani

Drug Czar
Lee Brown

FBI
Louis Freeh
(Federal Judge)

LAPD Chief
Joint Terrorist
Task Force
Operation
Willie Williams

Electric Chair

Three Time Felon

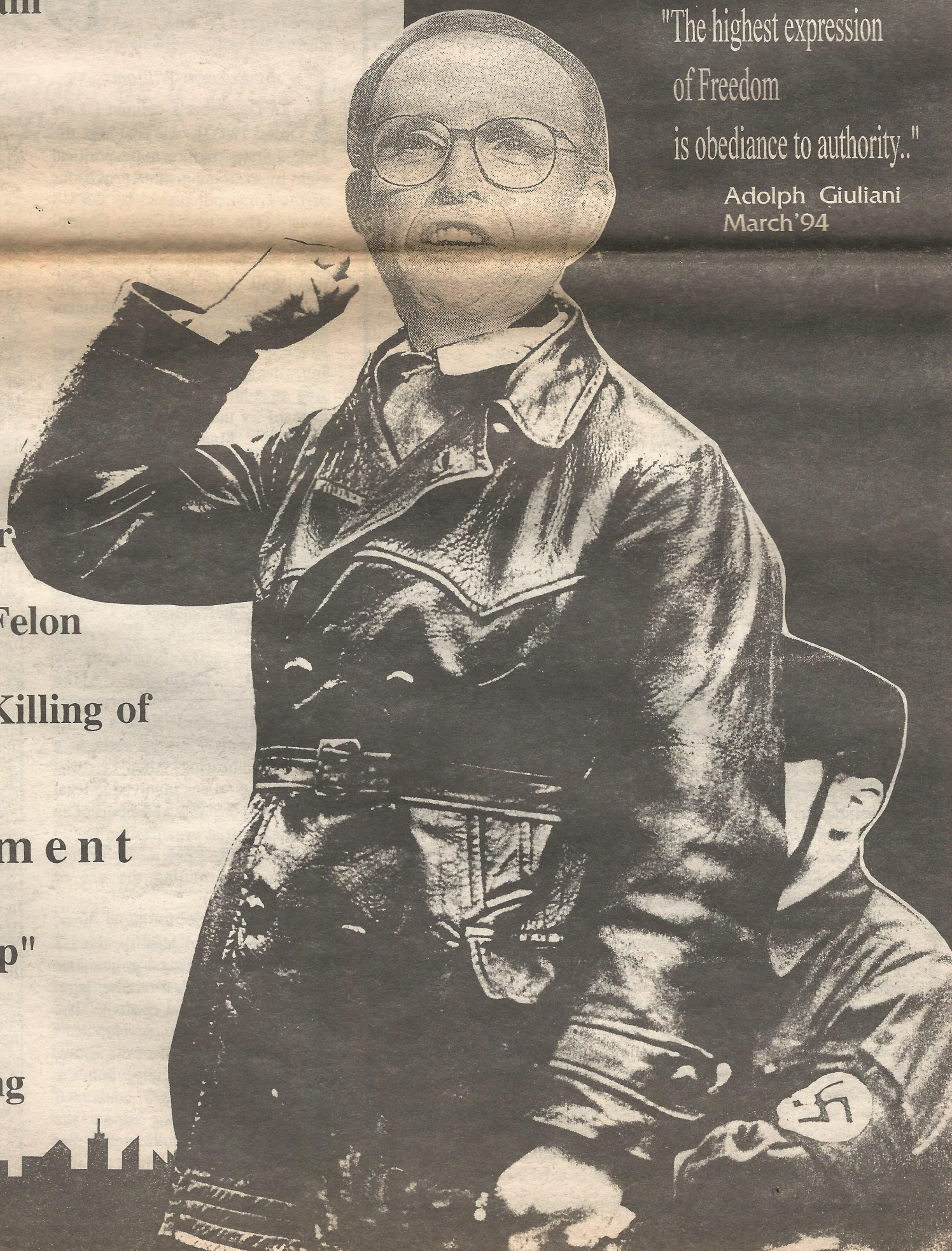
Police State Killing of
Black Youth

Government
Wiretap
"Clipper Chip"

Welfare
Fingerprinting

"The highest expression
of Freedom
is obedience to authority.."

Adolph Giuliani
March '94



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ARM THE MASSES

What we believe:

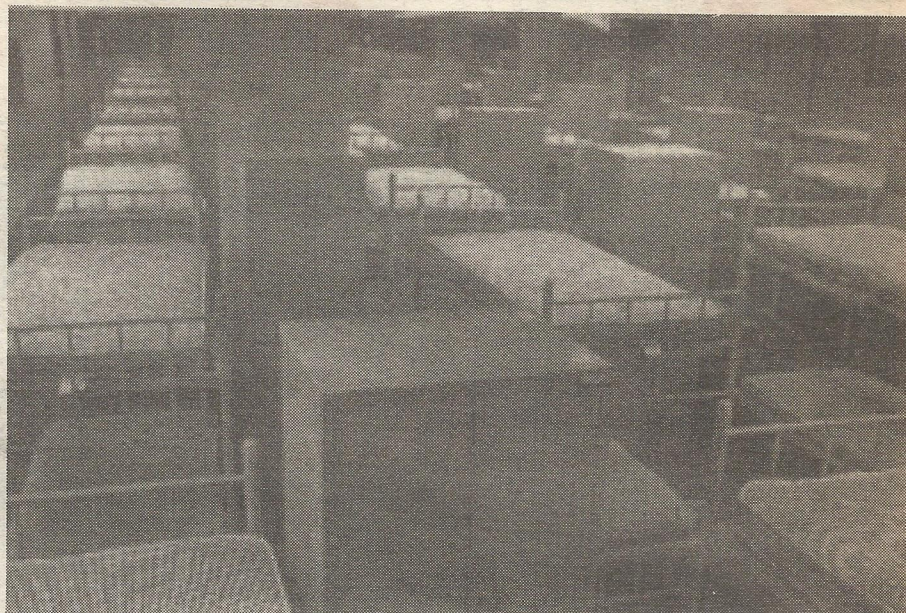
Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, forty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to national oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern USA; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the USA is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.

FREEDOM OR DEATH!

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No Justice!

legal news and analysis



Law & Order 1994

by Raheem Williams

In December's column ["Law & Order 1993"], we analyzed the United States' motion to the political right by examining some provisions of the crime bill passed by the US Senate (The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1993, H.R. 3355). We looked at the provisions for: Expansion of the Death Penalty (a punishment disproportionately used against Black men); Prosecution of Juveniles As Young As 13 Years of Age as Adults (an amendment put forward by the Senate's first Black woman); Mandatory Minimum Sentencing and Life Imprisonment for 3rd Time Drug and Violent Crime Felons (which has become popularly known as "Three Strikes and You're Out"); \$22 Billion Trust Fund (only available to those states who toe the line by changing their sentencing and detention laws to conform to the tougher, more right-wings ones being considered by Congress); Criminal Alien Deportation (a non-permanent resident alien convicted of a felony would no longer have a right to a deportation hearing; Alien Terrorist Deportation (aliens involved in legal fundraising or political support of an alleged terrorist organization would be subjected to special deportation procedures permitting the use of secret evidence).

We did this to show how, under the cloak of legality, the US ruling class is putting a police state in place. The goal is the legal expansion of federal control. The tactic they use is to develop bills which supposedly address the issues, e.g. violence in society, that the masses of people are concerned about. By playing upon the legitimate fear of violence that people have, they trick us into supporting legislation that in the long run will increase our oppression rather than secure bur-

and our community's safety. Since the December column, we have heard President Clinton extol the Crime Bill in his State of the Union Message. Governors across the country have jumped over each other to get on the bandwagon, attaching themselves to the "Three Strikes and You're Out" provision in particular (New York's Governor Cuomo, always exhibiting his own rhetorical flourish, calls it "Three Strikes and You're In"). As we said in December, the November election of Adolph (nee Rudolph) Giuliani as Mayor of New York City served as a signal to open the floodgates of unabashed, unbridled and undisguised conservatism in the US.

This month we will continue a review of the Crime Bill. In this regard, we owe a great deal of thanks to the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization whose conclusions and positions we often disagree with, but one which has offered continuing and comprehensive information and analysis of the Crime Bill.

The Anti-Gang Provision: is a large part of the bill, although gangs account for only a small percentage of the overall US crime rate. It penalizes a person who associates with a "criminal gang," any group of five or more people who, either individually or group-wide, commit two defined crimes within ten years. In that respect it mirrors the RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization) Act. At least five of the following characteristics define a gang: formal membership with the required initiation or rules for members; a recognized leader; common clothing, languages, tatoos; turf where the group is known; and a group name. These guidelines are so broad that they could apply to the New York Knicks, the Dallas Cowboys or the local Boy Scout Troop. They allow law enforcement

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National Review

Chickens Come Home to Roost Reagan Calls North a Liar

Excerpted from an article in *The New York Times* - March 17, 1994

by Richard L. Berke

Ronald Reagan once called Oliver L. North "a national hero." But now that the one-time national security aide is turning on him in the pursuit of his own political ambitions, the former President is calling him a liar.

Mr. Reagan was responding to assertions by Mr. North that he had lied to Congress under the former President's orders. "I do have to admit that I am getting pretty steamed about the statements coming from Oliver North," Mr. Reagan said in a letter made public today. "I never instructed him or anyone in my Administration to mislead Congress on Iran-contra matters or



anything else. And I certainly didn't know anything about the Iran-contra diversion."

Acting quickly to contain the political damage to his bid for the Republican Senate nomination in Virginia, North called a news conference... With an American flag stretched behind him, he contended that political enemies, through "Blatant and intentional misrepresentations," had twisted his

comments "to a President that I revere and admire."

North also distributed a letter to Reagan, writing in the close, "I will always contend you were the finest President of this century."...

North had pointed a finger at Reagan in his book "Under Fire," and most recently, in an interview on the CBS News program. "Face the Nation" after he announced his candidacy in late January. The former Marine lieutenant colonel who was on the national security staff in the White House blamed the former President for ordering him to lie to members of the House Intelligence Committee...

This was the first time Mr. Reagan has criticized Mr. North, who was convicted of three felonies in the Iran-contra affair... Mr. Reagan praised him, saying "He has a fine record. He is a national hero."

The Tape Rolls as a White Police Officer Shoots [in the back] a Fleeing Black Man

by Raheem Williams

On February 18th a jury of 11 whites and one Black convicted Lorenzo Colston, a Black man, of assaulting a (white) police officer. Mr. Colston faces up to 20 years in jail on these charges.

What they really found Mr. Colston guilty of was assaulting police bullets with his back.

At 9 p.m. on September 29th, 1993, Texas state trooper Bryan Barnhart pulled over a car because one of the headlights was out. The driver, Marcus Fields, a Black man,

was handcuffed after a license check showed outstanding warrants. His companion, Mr. Colston, got into a verbal confrontation with the arresting officer over his own identification. Another cop came upon the scene. Mr. Colston, who was legally drunk, was ordered to kneel on the ground. Although protesting, he did so. However when they told him to lie down on the ground, Colston refused and began to get up. The cops then began hitting him with their nightsticks. In the ensuing fight, Colston knocked both cops to the

ground and began to run away. Officer Barnhart pulled his .357 magnum and shoot Colston in the right elbow and buttocks, permanently paralyzing his arm and causing him to limp.

The entire incident, both video and audio, was captured on a videocamera mounted on Officer Barnhart's dashboard. Despite that fact, a Texas grand jury cleared both officers of any wrongdoing. As we go to press the only person facing jail is the victim, Mr. Colston.

Reparations Now

For Attack on Black Town

Excerpted from *The New York Times*, March 14, 1994

More than 70 years after one of the grisliest episodes of racial violence in Florida history, a move to compensate its Black victims has deeply divided state government here, with some officials arguing that Florida has no obligation to the survivors and that any redress would encourage a flood of similar claims.

In a bill filed by sympathetic state legislators, a group representing 11 survivors and 45 descendants is seeking \$7.2 million as compensation for the state's failure to protect the Black hamlet of Rosewood during a rampage by a white mob in 1923. In a week of shooting and burning, the mob killed six residents and destroyed the town. A companion bill would also build a \$1 million memorial at the site, a swampy rural area on Florida's Gulf Coast about 40 miles southwest of Gainesville....

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California Migrant Workers Children Robbed of an Education

by Glennes Bryant

The children of migrant farm workers in Mendota, California are not being educated. Instead they are being victimized by the greedy middle class white school board members. An investigation by the United States Education Department revealed that in the current year more than 1000 children of migrant workers did not receive any of the \$10 million allotted them.

The school board superintendent received a yearly salary of \$116,345, double what a district of Mendota's size usually pays a

superintendent. Mendota's 8000 residents are mainly poor and only one out of four has a high school diploma. Many of them do not know their rights, says the US Department of Education, "and so literally thousands of children are not getting an education because they don't understand English."

Dozens of parents banded together when they realized that their children were in the lowest percentile in all subject areas, scoring lower than students in other towns in the valley. Parents began

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Sea Islanders Win Land Suit

Reprint from *Justice Speaks*, Feb. 1994

by Gayle Korotkin

Some Daufuskie Island, South Carolina residents have succeeded in fighting "cultural genocide," by reclaiming part of their past from vicious real estate developers, while starting to rebuild their community for the future. In June 1993, the Melrose Company built the "welcome center" (a real estate office!) on the historic Cooper River Cemetery in 1985.

In 1990, community residents, through the Southern Justice Institute, filed a lawsuit on behalf of six native Daufuskians whose ancestors were buried in the Cooper River Cemetery, against Melrose. In June, facing the prospect of trial with damaging testimony from Daufuskians, archaeologists and anthropologists, the developers - who had tried to deny the cemetery existed - finally agreed to remove their building. The land will be held by the Cooper River Cemetery Preservation Society, organized and led by the plaintiffs in the suit. The developers also paid damages, some of which will be used for restoration of the graveyard.

The lawsuit required courage and commitment from the plaintiffs, particularly the Wilson family who suffered retaliation for bringing the suit. The angry developers took over their community organization, harassed Yvonne Wilson and her children, and even barred SJI lawyers and other allies of the residents from the only transportation to Daufuskie - a ferry boat run with public funds but controlled by the developers.

Yvonne Wilson led the effort to make it possible for native Daufuskians to come back home, by winning state, Federal and church support to improve the housing and transportation and to develop economic options for people independent of the seasonal, low-wage developer-controlled resort economy.

Philly Let Fire Burn

A judge recently ruled that Philadelphia was justified in bombing a radical group's rowhouse headquarters in 1985 but still can be sued for the subsequent fire that killed 11 members of the organization and destroyed 61 homes in the poor Black neighborhood.

The suit was brought by Ramona Africa, the only adult to survive the confrontation between the police and MOVE members. After a day long stand off, the cops bombed the house from a helicopter. People attempting to leave the burning building were shot at. Six adults and five children were killed.

International



The body of Osman Aly Barham, 17, is carried to his grave after he was shot by an Israeli soldier.

A Leap of Faith Leads to Death in Hebron

by Raheem Williams

On February 25th, Israeli settler and Army Reservist Dr. Baruch Goldstein entered a mosque in the Occupied area of Hebron and opened fire on hundreds of Arabs kneeling in prayer during Ramadan.

When the firing ended, 29 Palestinians lay dead, scores of others were wounded. Attack survivors killed Goldstein on the spot.

In the ensuing weeks several factual issues have been raised and several questions remain to be answered. They include:

- * Testimony that the Israeli Government had a standing policy that Israeli soldiers were never to fire at Jewish settlers, even if the Jews were shooting at people. Soldiers were to take cover and await a chance to overpower the settlers.

- * Some of the murdered Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers who were allegedly trying to restore order following the Goldstein attack.

- * Conflicting testimony by Israeli soldiers which indicates that Goldstein had an accomplice. One soldier reported seeing Goldstein

enter the mosque with an M-16, contrary to initial reports. He was later followed by a man with a Galil, the weapon used in the massacre. This mystery man remains unidentified.

- * The supposedly tough steps taken by the Israeli Government to rectify the situation by banning the right-wing Kach and Kahane Chai settler movements as terrorist organizations are empty, symbolic gestures. They pale in comparison to the measures enacted against a Palestinian population outraged over the massacre - blanket curfews of

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G-7 Club Meets On Jobs Issue

"In today's highly integrated global marketplace," said US Secretary of Labor Robert B. Reich in a recent NY Times article, "economies can grow in size, company profits can soar, a stock market can rise, and yet many people can be unemployed or underemployed - because capital and technology are now so mobile that they do not always create good jobs in their own backyard."

President Clinton convened a jobs conference in Detroit, Michigan in mid-March with the finance and labor ministers from the Group of Seven industrial democracies to discuss this issue.

Dominique Moisi, deputy director of the French Institute for International Relations commented, "Seen from Europe, unemployment is the biggest security problem facing the Western world today, and the G-7 is simply acknowledging that. Because if we don't find answers to that problem, our entire system will collapse on itself."

Columbia: Two Countries

Excerpted from The NY Times
by James Brooke

Since 1990, like so much of Latin America, free-market policies and a lowering of trade barriers have produced solid growth, surging imports and swelling foreign investment...

"We are very positive on Colombia; we think they are making major strides to open the economy and to become world players," said Michael Tracy, president of Drummond Ltd., an Alabama coal company that plans to invest \$50 million this year to build a private port to develop a coal mine near

The number of people living below the poverty line has increased... to include about half of Colombia's population...

Colombia's Caribbean coast.

The coal project is part of an explosion in foreign investment in Colombia outside of its rich oil reserves, which have long attracted foreigners. From 1990 through last year, investment more than doubled

to \$475 million. This year, foreign investment is expected to double to \$1 billion....

Colombia's largely rural-based guerrillas started fighting to topple the Government in the early 1960's.

"The violence is costing us several growth pains," Rudolf Hommes, Colombia's Finance Minister, wrote in January....

Colombia's new economic policies, known as the apertura, or opening, is the work of Colombia's President, Cesar Gaviria Trujillo. A technocrat who is short of charisma, Mr. Gaviria has an understanding of business that comes from his training as an economist.

Until Mr. Gaviria turned their world upside down, Colombian manufacturers had produced for years in a genteel environment protected by tariffs averaging 40 percent. Then, in 1990 the President started to cut them to their current level - 11 percent.

In an audible rush, imports swept in the newly opened door.

In 1992, imports of American goods jumped 68 percent, to \$3.3 billion, making Colombia the

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US on Cuban Refugees

Bowing to US pressure, the United Nations has continued the mandate of its special rapporteur to investigate alleged human rights abuses in Cuba. Following are excerpts from a Top Secret document sent by the US Interest Section in Cuba to the State Department giving their real analysis of the human rights situation in Cuba. It is entitled "Update on the Cuban Refugee Program."

I. Overview: The process of refugee applicants continues to show weak cases. Most people apply more because of the deteriorating economic situation than a real fear of persecution. Cases presented by human rights activists proved particularly difficult for USINT [US Interest Section] offices and INS [Immigration and Naturalization Services] members. Although we have tried hard to work with the human rights organizations on which we exert greater control to identify activists truly persecuted by the government, human rights cases represent the weakest category of the refugee program [emphasis ATM]... As a rule USINT officers and INS members have regarded human rights cases as the most susceptible to fraud.

II. Assessment: ... It is brazenly acknowledged, now, by some of the reintegrated ex-political prisoners, that, they apply for refugee status as a means to escape the deteriorating economic situation, and not because of a current fear of persecution or harassment.

Others seem to have been pressed to request refugee status by their adult children hoping to leave with

their parents. Most of these adult children of elderly, often retired, ex-political prisoners do not meet the criteria for refugee status in their own capacity... A significant number of applications have also been received from individuals charged with attempting to illegally exit the country. With the depoliticization of "illegal exits" by the Cuban government, sentences for such charges were reduced. INS has generally regarded "illegal exits" as lacking political content...

On the other hand, almost none of the cases show proofs of house searches, interrogations, detention, or arrest. The activists usually claim persecution by state security. But they rarely can provide properly documented evidence of it. In some instances, the applicant claims to have been subject to harassment without arrest. Interviewing officers end up having to rely virtually on what activists tell them...

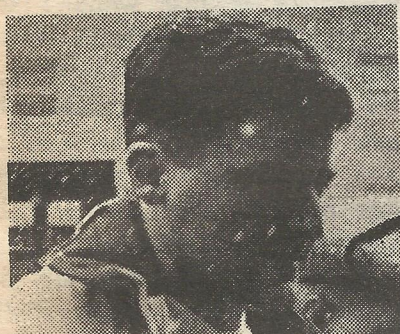
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New York, New York

BUSINESS AS USUAL FOR NYC POLICE

by Raheem Williams

On March 18th, 3 of New York City's Finest were arrested and charged with misconduct, resulting from a year-long undercover probe of corruption in the police department. The particular sting



operation which snagged police officers Michael Kennedy, Russell Litwenak and Frederick Wagner was begun in response to complaints that officers from the local precinct were beating up local drug dealers and stealing their drugs, money and guns.

The police set up an undercover cop in an apartment equipped with

hidden microphones and video-cameras. False police radio calls reporting drug dealing outside of the apartment were made to test the response of the officers. Two of them were caught on tape viciously beating up the tenant (an undercover cop) when their ransacking of the apartment produced neither drugs nor money. The other cop was seen stealing \$2000 hidden in a paper bag in a bedroom closet.

Police Commission Bratton and Manhattan District Attorney Morgenthau have made a big deal about these arrests, which were carried out in front of TV cameras. They contrast the conduct of these "rogue" cops with that of officers Sean McDonald who was killed while trying to break up a robbery. They say it demonstrates a new and resolute move to deal with police corruption and that there are other probes going on.

Corruption, brutality and illegality permeate the New York City Police



Department. The three arrested cops represent the norm. The Police and District Attorney are conducting a massive propaganda campaign to change the community's preception of the police as corrupt dope dealers. After the Knapp Hearings under the Lindsay Administration detailed the massive, pervasive corruption in the NYPD, the police continued their criminal enterprise. The arrest of some of the corrupt officers in the notorious under cover crackhouse known as the 77th Precinct in Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn, did not stop the traffic in drugs and guns by the

police, nor the continued shakedowns of dope dealers to get a cut of the pie. Investigation after investigation has shown a massive conspiracy which includes all levels of the police department, the judges who handle the cases, the district attorneys in the various boroughs and the politicians. The show trial of one or two officers will result in no interference with the ongoing criminal enterprise. Rather the goal of the police and administration is to pave the way for the consolidation of a police state. The "criminals" must be contained by any means necessary.



Grassroots Organizations Demand: "Corrupt Cops Must Go!"

The Committee to Honor Black Heroes, the December 12th Movement and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, joined by other grassroots organizations, demanded at a recent press conference held

outside the infamous 73rd Precinct that all the corrupt police be removed from Black neighborhoods.

Sonny Abubadika Carson stated, "We are demanding that all those involved be named and identified

along with the entire criminal enterprise, that stretches from the 73rd to the 75th to the 94th precincts, as identified by Michael Dowd."

Three officers of the 73rd have been indicted. The cops stole drugs and money from dope dealers and assaulted them, then divided the loot in a coffin factory. Mr. Carson pointed out that other officers in the precinct, including supervisors, had to have been part of the continuing criminal enterprise for it to flourish.



Abubadika Sonny Carson

Major Company Layoffs

by Omowale Clay

NYNEX, AT&T and a number of other large companies will pull the plug on over 85,000 employees nationwide, with New York losing as many as 12,000 from the cutbacks at NYNEX.

The long distance companies blame the reduction on "dramatic changes in technology, customer needs, public policy and increased

competition." In the case of AT&T, the company's union executive explained, "Here is another example of a healthy company playing to Wall Street and looking for a quick fix." The executive continued to explain that AT&T wants to dump the people who not only built its enormous revenue last year, but who are the bedrock of future rock.

Adolf vs. the City

by Glennes Bryant

Adolf [nee Rudolph] Giuliani presses onward in his relentless campaign against the city's poor. Adolf recently defended his aide John Dyson's remarks on welfare reform, which were called insensitive and uninformed by advocates for the poor. Questioned as to the proposal's insensitivity to minorities and how well Giuliani and he could run a city that has a minority of white people, Dyson replied "two white guys have been running this city of immigrants for two hundred years." Adolf walked out of the press conference in anger when the questioning got tough.

But more than the obvious racism of the remark is the overall tenor of the proposed changes in welfare. Adolf proposed that people on welfare ought to go to work for their welfare stipend. Dyson says that too much money is given to people who easily defraud the system. Adolf and Dyson say that these people need to clean up the parks and the city streets.

Does the mayor speak with

forked tongue? Out of one side of his mouth he's getting rid of 15,000 service workers; out of the other side of his mouth he's telling some poor people that he will put them to work. The 15,000 workers forced out of their jobs will come from services such as the Parks Department and Sanitation; the police and fire departments are the only sacrosanct ones.

Giuliani and Dyson's plans fall in line with a nationwide attack on the concept of welfare. In 1990 the average welfare payments to a family of three was \$377 per month, which would put these families well below the poverty line. Although the Department of Health and Human Services estimates nationally that fraud accounts for only 2 to 3 percent of all public assistance programs, so called welfare cheats remain a favorite media bogeyman. Roughly a nickel out of every \$100 goes to welfare fraud. By contrast \$2 out of every \$100 (2%) or \$27 billion of federal spending goes to bail out the fraud ridden savings and loan industry.

Victims of Special Ed Vow Its Abolition!

by Assata S. Yaa-Asantewa

The Special Education system represents a \$30 Billion dollar industry nationwide! In New York City alone, \$1.3 Billion is spent on Special Education ("SPE"). Since so many tax dollars are pumped into this system, one would believe that this program is working and that these children are being helped. Wrong! This system is not working. Although the budget is high, the productivity is extremely low and only 5% of the children graduate on time. Our children are being used. We've been had. Our children in fact are being set up for failure and ultimately destruction by incarceration.

The more children placed into SPE classes, the more money the school receives. Therefore, African

and Latino children are bused outside of their communities to white schools districts, where they are then recommended for SPE classes. Although the recommendation for SPE classes requires parental consent, misguided parents usually grant consent, after being told that in smaller settings their children would progress. In many instances, parents are actually paid a quarterly stipend to enroll their children into SPE classes. Working hand in hand, many children trapped in the foster care system are corralled into SPE. Foster care providers are paid extra for keeping SPE children. Most times, there is absolutely nothing wrong with these children, other than city agencies continuously

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Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution

"Monster" to Revolutionary

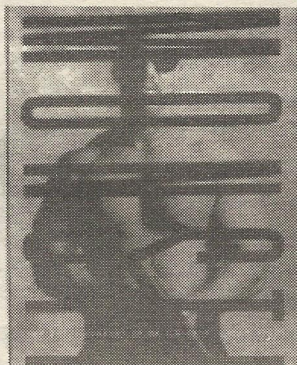
Consciousness Means Actions
by Sanyika Shakur

I would suspect that my adolescent years were no different than any other colonial victim here in north america. I went to the same state-controlled schools that most of us are required to attend, lest our parents or guardians could be arrested. While there I ran the gamut of illusional aspirations just as most of us have....

During my stint in the LA United School District, I was being relegated to the position that I was to hold forever in this country, i.e. A colonial subject whose productive force is tied up to benefit the state....

[B]its and pieces of news concerning the Black Liberation Movement (BLM) did trickle down to me from second-hand sources, usually word of mouth, rumors. I remained secretly impressed by the BLM in general and the Black Panther Party in particular....

The united states counter-revolutionary assault did not



"destroy" the BLM, but it did aid in its destruction from within. Thus, 1969 found South Central (like other depressed areas) virtually leaderless. The community activists and would-be revolutionaries had been either driven underground, captured or killed by counterinsurgents of the government. And in the absence of our leadership came rampant opportunism, criminality and a general state of apathy within the New Afrikan community.... The criminality rose up in the form of street organizations ("gangs") and was largely represented by the Crips and the Bloods.

By the time of my escape from the LAUSD in '75, I was already

being absorbed by the criminal elements on the street. Thus I joined the only standing youth force available to me - the Crips....

[W]hile my small acts of criminality did nothing whatsoever to threaten the stability of the empire, it did sharpen the fundamental contradiction underlying my relation, albeit dysfunctional, with the state.

This of course drew the attention of the state and they dispatched their political police to invade the areas most populated by those colonial subjects with the least bit of faith and awe for the imperial system. When mis-education is not enough to maintain one's awe for the

oppressor nation, the next stage of coercion is jail. This adds a new light as to why there are some 700,000 New Afrikans in u.s. prisons today....

But what is most important to note here is that while I was adamantly anti-american, I was not pro-New Afrikan. I was stuck in the criminal/colonial mindset that most of us never really break out of. And it is because of this mindset that my criminality, while being anti-american, was not threatening to the empire.... I didn't really look at the LAPD (Los Angeles Police Department) as the frontline offense force of the state and, therefore, an occupying army in our community. The Bloods were my "worst" enemies at that time - or so I thought. If there had been revolutionaries around in my life then, I'm sure I would have taken that path, and saved myself from hardship. Needless to say there weren't any, so I've had to learn some very bitter lessons by trial and error, at the expense of half of my life.

Tricks & Mirrors - Black Power & Empowerment

by Malik Nkrumah

Which way forward! For forty million Africans, this polemic is a 400 year old battle cry. Our 400 year old struggle, filled with countless phenomena of forward motion and setbacks, is nothing more than Afrikan people's fight to arrive at a scientific definition of struggle. With this in mind we will look at the recent phenomena in

media's intentions. The latter view contends that the media is, and has always been, antagonistic towards the Black community, and has no intention of promoting the fundamental needs and aspirations of the Black community, nor that of "leadership" (positive or negative), and has a history of choosing our leaders through this medium (T.V.). John, a student at York College,



Black Power calls into being the right to self-determination, the human right to self-defense, and the right to (autonomous) nationhood... Empowerment,... seeks to... put Black people in "powerful" positions... ignoring the nature of these institutions...

"our" nation: The (NOI) Nation of Islam and Min. Louis Farrakhan - the question of leadership, and the role of the media's influence on it - what is the NOI's program for 40 million oppressed Africans: Empowerment vs. Black Power? In trying to unravel these questions, we are going to "make it plain," allowing subjectivity and metaphysics to be overcome by objectivity.

The recent attack on the Nation of Islam by the media has spawned mixed feelings in the Black community. Some view it as a vile attack against Black leadership (which is reminiscent of a white supremacist, racist media), while others are more skeptical of the

stressed that "this can be done by negative or positive promotion of "our" leaders." The direct opposite of this view is that this is an attack to destroy the Nation of Islam, and we should now all flock to the NOI in support. Though both of these views have some relevance, the truth of either can only be resolved by looking at the Nation of Islam microscopically.

The Nation of Islam has a history of conforming and reshaping the Black Man. "Derelicts" such as alcoholics, petty criminals, felons, etc., have found solace in the Nation of Islam, when society has turned its back on them. The Nation of Islam is to be praised in that aspect, but,

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The Attack on Black Youth

Malcolm X taught us that you can't communicate with your enemy unless you speak his language. So if Black people are to be successful in waging our struggle for liberation we must understand the language of politics. Fascism and the State are key terms in this language of politics. We cannot understand, much less combat, the fascism which is moving to seat itself in the US, unless we know the nature of the state. In Mexico, a combatant in the Zapatista National Liberation Army recently noted, "[I]t was only when we picked up our guns that the Government listened to us." Their experience and study had clearly taught them that behind the facade of "government" lies the State, a body of armed men who defend the interests of the ruling class.

Fascism represents the most right wing sector of that ruling class under a dying capitalism no longer

characterized by industry and competition but by finance and monopoly. A dying capitalism means even greater unemployment and the accelerated deterioration of education, health, housing and the other basic necessities of life. These cutbacks breed a resistance which fascism responds to through rule by naked force.

We can understand it a little better by looking at the example of New York City, the international center of finance, politics and culture. What happens in New York is usually a forerunner for the rest of the US. Adolph Giuliani, the mayor of New York City is a fascist. But it is his words and deeds, not his looks which make him dangerous. His victory was a call to the forces of conservatism which pushed everyone in the electoral political arena to the right. On March 16th, Giuliani

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Political Prisoners

From Behind the Walls We Speak

Repression in Jail

by Edwin Cortes

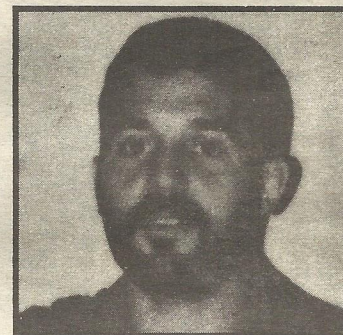
Puerto Rican Prisoner of War

On September 29, 1993 the prison administration informed me that they were considering transferring me to the US Penitentiary in Terre Haute from Leavenworth, Kansas in March of 1994. This decision would be based on their review of my conduct. They would not be looking at my previous conduct, educational and vocational activities in jail, nor the recommendation of the prison administration of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania that I should be transferred immediately to Terre Haute.

Almost all the political prisoners and prisoners of war have had similar experiences of serving sentences many thousands of miles removed from their families. For example, comrade Adolfo Matos is in jail in Lompoc, California where his family is in New York. The son and mother of Elizam Escobar live in New York and Puerto Rico, but he is locked up in El Reno, Oklahoma.

Another method of isolating

prisoners is by restricting phone calls. There is a new system being installed in the federal system whereby all calls are computerized. The calls are limited to 15 minutes



and only 20 people can be on an inmates calling list. The prisoner must pay for all calls out of his/her commissary account, the same account he must use to buy toiletries, sweat suits, sneakers, stamps, pictures during family visits, type writer ribbons, all the basic necessities. Puerto Rican POWs Haydee and Alejandrina Torres, Dylcia Pagan, Carmen Valentin and Lucy Rodriguez, jailed in Pleasanton, California are already under this new system.



Mutulu Shakur Moved from Lewisburg

Arm the Masses has learned that Mutulu Shakur was moved from Lewisburg, Pennsylvania Federal Penitentiary to an as yet unknown location. The arbitrary transfer of political prisoners is frequently used to disorient the captive, disrupt ties to family and the outside community and to

prevent the outside community monitoring his or her well being.

We are especially concerned because the federal Bureau of Prisons is constructing a new prison at Florence, Colorado which is reputed to be even more torturous than the infamous jail in Marion, Illinois.

Free all Political Prisoners and POWS!

SUNSHINE

In my cell each afternoon
I miss it on cloudy days
A new cell-a new block
Last cell was morning sun
For a year
Second tier
Laying in the quiet of morning
I'd squint my eyes
At the sun on the back wall
of the cell
And think of the phrase
Crossbar Hotel
I wish I had seen
More Frank Lloyd Wright windows
It's mid-May
Come July
It'll be 110 degrees
In this second tier cell
And I'll have the evening sun
Going down
I'll stand naked and watch my
shadow
As it washes the thick sweat
Off of me
Framed by the Frank Lloyd Wright
window
In the Crossbar Hotel
Southern Illinois
Is only two states
Away from Texas
It was never important
To know that before

by Tommy Manning
Ohio 7 Political Prisoner
Tom Manning #10373-016
PO Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959

The Need for a Front for the Liberation of the New Afrikan Nation



by Jalil Abdul Muntaquin
(Excerpts from a longer text)

With a full understanding of our history in relationship to the colonial (USA) government and its economic system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, we are then able to develop a practical theory to formulate a decisive working strategy by which to educate, organize and mobilize our oppressed New Afrikan Nation for complete sovereignty and independence. It is important that recognition is given to our task for a social, political, economic and cultural perspective. That we totally commit ourselves to an arduous struggle for national emancipation and liberation, allowing absolutely nothing from preventing our success and freedom from racist colonial and neo-colonial subjugation.

Our Three Phase Theory for

National Independence is based on the historical manifestation of our national oppression in racist capitalist America. This theory negates nothing from our history although it establishes its pragmatic foundation on prevailing conditions, and moves from these conditions, building conceptual understanding of how our practices must conform to given realities, if we are to be free. The Three Phase Theory for National Independence is based on the principles of dialectical materialism, determining the need of both class and national struggle.

1) We recognize we are a subjugated and oppressed colonized nation in the imperialist government of the United States of America;

2) That racist national oppression and monopoly capitalism are the two all pervasive means in which US imperialism maintains a colonial strangle-hold on the New Afrikan Nation, with miscegenation, acculturation, assimilation, individualism, sexism and competition being the character of control and our super-exploitation;

3) Our colonial condition is re-enforced by the institutionalization of class-division and neo-colonial control by members of the New Afrikan Nation;

4) That the New Afrikan Nation is entitled to restitution-reparation

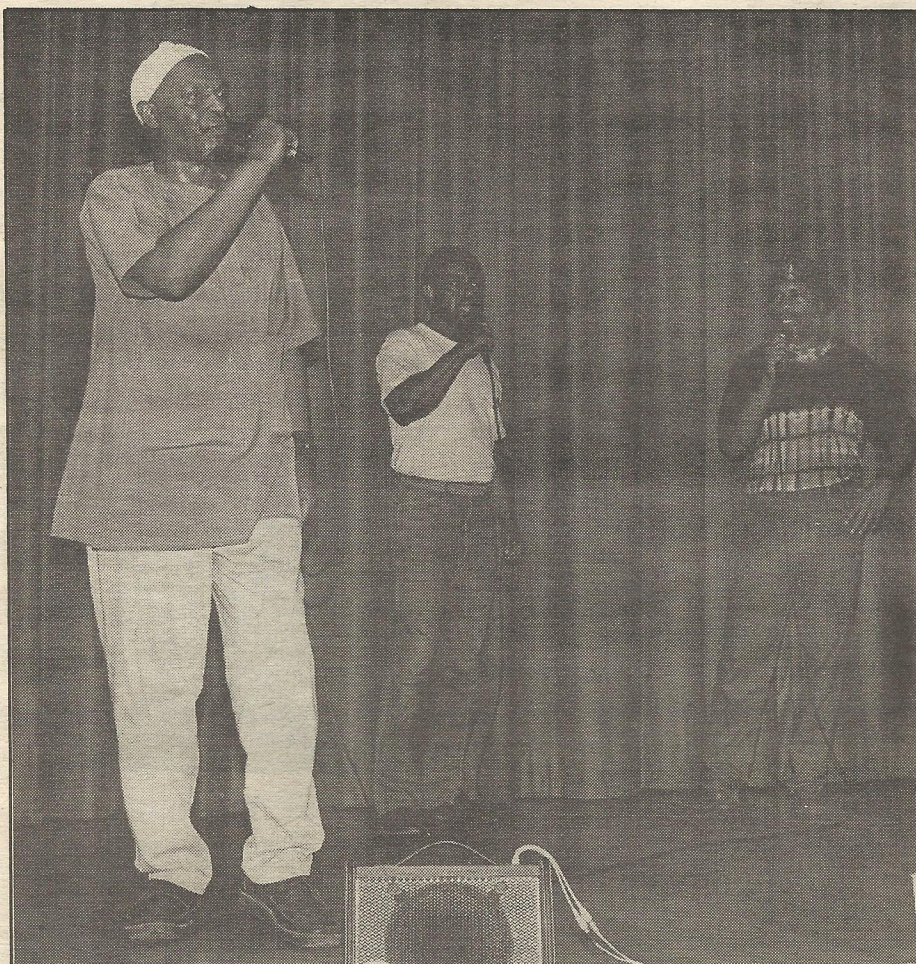
from the US government for four (4) centuries of colonial domination, including, monetary compensation, land, machinery (industrial and technological), and military equipment to establish our sovereignty and security to defend against future aggression;

5) As an oppressed nation of colonized people, we are the third largest nation of Afrikan people in the western hemisphere. We have a population of 30+ million with a purchasing power of \$250 to \$350 billion dollars and must be afforded international recognition and status in both [the] United Nations and [the] Organization of Afrikan Unity.

Jalil Muntaquin, (Anthony Bottom),
#77A4283, PO Box 700, Wallkill,
NY 12589

Arm the Masses has just learned that Richard Picariello, a North American political prisoner, has been released from jail. He was a member of the Fred Hampton Unit of the Jonathan Jackson/Sam Melville brigade, an urban guerrilla unit dedicated to struggling against social, economic, and political oppression. He had been in jail since his conviction in 1977 serving first a federal sentence then a state sentence.

Culture As A Weapon



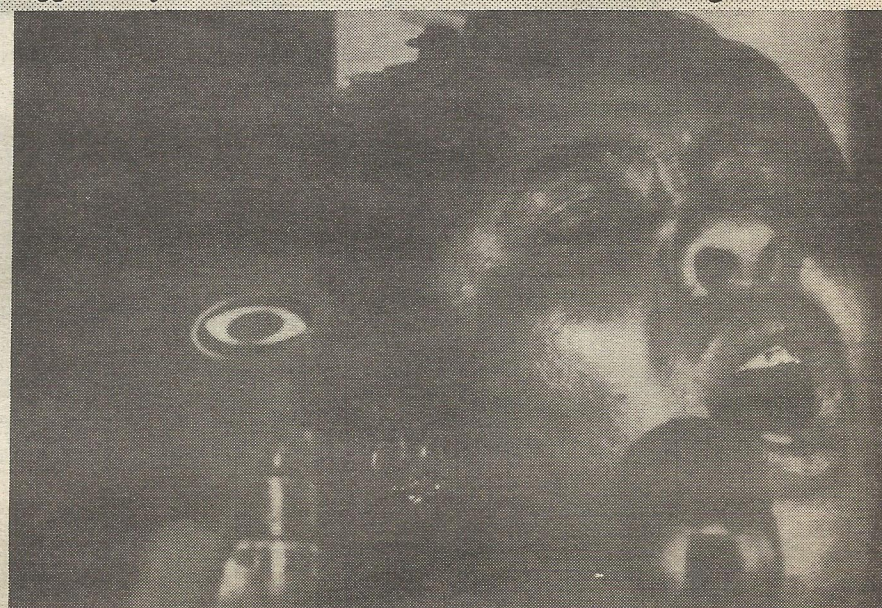
Suleiman of the Last Poets performed at the Black Power Conference held at Boys and Girls High School the weekend of February 19th and 20th. The master poet once again demonstrated the command of our rhythms, the words that sear our souls and set us on fire, that lead us to another plateau. Our griots have come with us from the homeland and are still the historians and social commentators. More importantly now they also call us into battle against the oppression that seeks to crush our very spirits, that steals our culture and gives us back negativity to corrupt our youth and change the culture in our community to one of self-destruction. We will not be fooled. We will Recapture Our Communities with Black Power!

This Little Light of Mine: The Autobiography of Fannie Lou Hamer

by Dave Silver

Journalist Author Kay Mills' *This Little Light of Mine* captures the extraordinary character of Fannie Lou Hamer, her integrity, courage and leadership of oppressed and impoverished sharecroppers in Mississippi. She is a modern day heroine to all who participate in the struggles for justice and freedom.

continued her grassroots organizing in Sunflower County, Mississippi - the home of arch-racist Senator James Eastland. There were frequent instances of the use of informers and tapped phones against Ms. Hamer and her comrades, Victoria Grey and Annie Devine, also members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee



The book is an inspiring story of an African-American woman who, in the face of beatings, intimidation and harassment by landowners, local authorities, and the FBI's COINTELPRO unit, in order to destabilize efforts of resistance,

(SNCC).

Black people could not vote as late as 1962 in Ruleville, the site of the plantation where Ms. Hamer spent most of her adult life. The arrival of civil rights workers in August 1962 had a profound effect on her and the militancy of the entire movement for justice in the South. A vivid account of the 1963 arrests and jail beatings of her and other activists [for trying to register to vote] is given. Although an all-white federal jury acquitted the law officers, the militancy and consciousness of the anti-racist struggle grew broader.

Opposition to the war in Vietnam and the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in April 1964 helped to show the connection of the Black Liberation struggle at home and anti-imperialism abroad. In spite of the fire bombing of her home and being the object of racist violence in the school desegregation struggles in Sunflower County, Fannie Lou Hamer and some of her comrades visited the African leader Sekou Toure of Guinea...[and] shared a platform in New York with Malcolm X.... Throughout her life Fannie Lou Hamer addressed the fundamental issues that still remain today: racism, poverty, war and political powerlessness.

The book details the importance of song and singing songs such as "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around," and "This Little Light of Mine," as weapon against oppression and as Hamer has stated, "is one of the main things that can keep us going."...

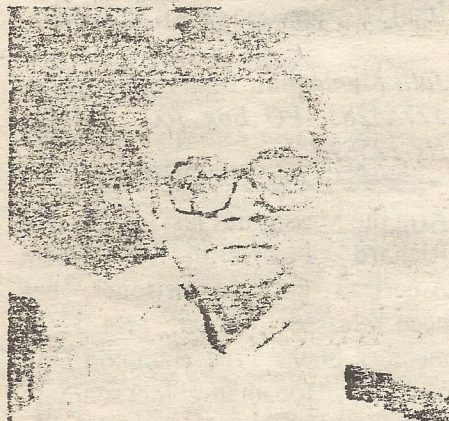
Tribute to a Warrior: Curtis Mayfield



Sam Moore of Sam and Dave, Curtis Mayfield, and Vernon Reid of Living Color

Curtis Mayfield has been a part of the Black Liberation Struggle through out his musical career. He lived Culture Is A Weapon; his songs were based on our struggle and gave voice to our dreams and aspirations. From *God Bless Miss America*, *We the People Who are Darker Than Blue*, *The Makings of You*, he celebrated Black is Beautiful. In *If There's A Hell Below We're All Gonna Go*, *Pusher Man*, *The Other Side of Town*, *Freddie's Dead* he explored the daily oppression and the victims. But *Keep on Pushin'*, *There's A Train A' Coming*, it's time - *People Get Ready*. Amen. Straight Ahead!

Irvin Flores, Live Like Him! Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!



Reprinted from New York Newsday March 20, 1994

Puerto Rican nationalist leader Irvin Flores, who along with other independence supporters attacked the US Congress in 1954, died

yesterday of cancer. He was 69.

Mr. Flores had been diagnosed with a brain tumor in 1993 and underwent surgery last year. He died at his home in a San Juan suburb after three months in what doctors described as a progressive coma.

Mr. Flores spent 25 years in federal prisons for the March 1, 1954 attack in which five congressmen were injured.

In 1950, he was briefly incarcerated for his alleged role in the island's nationalist rebellion. He was wounded in a battle and fled, but was later arrested by police. After his release, he moved to New York to join independence leader

Rafael Cancel Miranda, who introduced him to Lolita Lebron and Andres Figueroa Cordero.

Together they carried out the attack on Congress, shooting at US representatives from a second-floor balcony in the Capitol. All four were imprisoned until they were pardoned by President Jimmy Carter in 1979...

ATM salutes the heroic life of Companero Irvin, along with his fellow independentistas who stood steadfast and principled, refusing to compromise in their country's struggle for national liberation. They are examples to us all. Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

Harriet Tubman

THE ROLE OF FORCE

For the past four hundred years, African lives in America have been fraught with violence and blood shed. It is in this context of history that violence as a political phenomenon should be analyzed and countered. Beginning with the middle passage, thousands of captive Africans shed their blood and took their own lives because they refused to die without dignity. Those who survived the ordeal plotted and carried out many insurrections against American oppression. Thousands of Black soldiers were used in the Civil War to help the Union defeat the South. Many of these Blacks shed their blood in valor and heroic feats because they believed they would live as free men. Based upon this history, the survival and destiny of the race is tied to a will to resist and fight by any means necessary. This is a historical and present reality.

Inside the captive underclass nation, city, state and federal police forces are deployed using the gun to protect the profits and wealth of the capitalist state that kill Black men, women and children at will. This wealth has been amassed from centuries of exploitation and oppression of Black people.

This is the emergence of the theory of force and the true perspective of the role of violence. From violence to force, millions of captive Blacks have given their lives for a better future and better society. But realistically force can only be met with force. This becomes the transition and transformation from submission to resistance, from defeat to victory, from oppression to *revolutionary activity*. The context here is millions of Black people organized with the correct military and political line for self-determination and national independence. The actual demonstration of force in action must occur to give credibility to its threatened use; the threat gains efficacy as an instrument of social

This is the emergence of the theory of force and the true perspective of the role of violence...

and political change.

Strategic operations and Revolutionary assault missions become legitimate and necessary actions for captive Africans' self-determination and dignity as a proud people. The principal contradiction here is the inequality and innumerable human rights violations perpetrated against Black people.

Black people's salvation can only come from the expropriation of land and capital. This is fundamental to captive Africans' repatriation and the success of Blacks' revolutionary struggle. All private and state

agencies and officers that protect and amass capital are the true enemies and targets for strategic assaults.

The theory of force and Revolutionary violence for the captive Black nation is not a question of deprivation, civil rights or terrorism. Nor is Revolutionary violence motivated out of frustration and aggressiveness to seek vengeance. Revolutionary violence is not a reactive or impulsive action, but rather a political and military strategic objective to break out of captivity and turn defeats into victories, to build and consolidate revolutionary forces in the Nationalist Liberation struggle. This is what is meant by self-determination for the captive African nation. The question of Revolutionary violence for an oppressed captive nation is not a



question at all. It is a mandate, a historical right and mission that is fundamentally necessary to advance the revolutionary force inside America. Our children's children's future depends upon it. The theory of force and revolutionary violence is a functional and vital part of the overall Black nationalist's democratic struggle.

The tactics are ten against one, and strategy one against ten, using a few to defeat many, and many to defeat a few. This is the law of the guerrilla. Ultimately, the strategic objective is to advance the Revolutionary Nationalist struggle to armed struggle against the racist finance monopoly state, and to seize state power inside the national territory. This may take 5, 10, 15, 20, or 50 years, but under no conditions should Blacks compromise the objective. The fight is for self-determination, and each generation must continue to advance this cause and fight until captive Africans in America are liberated from the yoke of racism, capitalism, and cultural imperialism.

Many heroic revolutionaries have given their lives, and may comrades have shed their blood and were driven behind the walls; many innocent Black people have suffered daily from the racist and fascist US government.

By nature Black people are humble people, and humanitarians, but our humanity and culture have been fiercely decimated by the racist US government. Black people have been and continue to live under the fear and threat of a police state and genocide. It is our duty to fight, and Black people must fight because it is the greatest honor and most precious deed to pay our proud tradition and humanity.

Having a correct political and military line is fundamental to our success. To understand the concept of Revolutionary violence in practice we must learn from the lessons of the FLN in the Battle of Algiers: in order to build the people's resistance movement against violence, all acts of violence against the people must be countered with retaliatory strikes. These strategic assaults must be highly secretive and calculated.

These strikes against the enemy cannot be reactive or motivated by revenge, but must be strictly militarily feasible. The overall success of these assaults is the ultimate objective, and the success should bring a victory to the people, by the army, for the people. To be successful careful planning, superior intelligence, precision timing, and mobility are paramount. Retaliatory strikes must give impetus to our National Liberation struggle, and not emotional or subjective highs. The end results of all strikes must provide concrete material resources to the struggle, whether in the form of capital, military procurement, or the elimination of powerful enemies. Selective hits and kidnappings of killers of Black people should only be operationalized when substantial political organizing and politicizing has been done by the revolutionary forces and have entrenched themselves within that specific community. This will provide an invisibility of the soldiers of the movement, and also give rise and elevate the consciousness of the masses.

However, our people must bear in mind that this form of resistance is tactical in nature, and never an end in itself. Our military tactics always support and advance our political struggle, and vice versa.

We are involved in a protracted war, which demands that we be zealous, courageous, patient, unwavering, and vigilant.

Starting from these basic premises, the Black Liberation Army is the eyes and ears in our people's war. To build this army it is essential that ideological consolidation and political strategy

The strongest weapon against the "Goliath" is to strike its Achilles heel...

among Revolutionary forces become concrete. This will enable revolutionary cadres and units to work toward a national strategy to refine and achieve greater predictability on political and military objectives against the racist military state and financial centers - *Straight Ahead!*

Superior training, an indomitable fighting spirit, superior firepower, and mobility are essential in turning small isolated victories into larger coordinated victories. In preparation for all revolutionary assaults and missions, soldiers and comrades must be full of zeal and meticulous in intelligence and reconnaissance, take full account of the enemies; strengths and weaknesses, and move swiftly to take advantage of the edge with split second timing.

It is in the total success of the National Liberation struggle that Revolutionary violence has its life and can ignite the fighting spirit in the hearts and minds of the entire captive African nation. After many victories by the Black Liberation Army and other revolutionary comrades, the consciousness of Black people will ignite like wild fire.

To achieve these heights Revolutionary violence becomes a *tactical weapon*, leaps from city to city, state to state, with the same tactics and strategy, taking into consideration the particular circumstances. The assaults and attacks are against the state and state apparatus. The state should be viewed as a military and economic machine with coordinated police powers and a right wing population that will respond to protect the state in times of crisis. The strongest weapon against the "Goliath" is to strike at its Achilles' heel.

If Blacks have been insane to accept inhumanity from whites as a price to live, they now see that the cost is too dear. The resolution is to have clear standards. This requires not rebellion but revolution.

Dr. Chester Pierce, 1969

EDITORIAL

One of the most astonishing phenomenon of the Amerikkkan political system is the election of the president of the US. Often who wins, democrat or republican, is determined by who's best at orchestrating a myriad of deceptive tricks, new sales pitches, aimed directly at the voting masses, particularly the Black population. Historically the Black vote has represented the critical swing vote necessary to win.

ATM's editorial theme this month is the bankruptcy of Bourgeois Democracy and its pernicious threat to the National Question, and the resurgence of nationalist consciousness among forty million Africans in Amerikkka.

The White House inauguration of William Jefferson Clinton was stamped in the tradition and essence of the "new generation" politicians who recognized the value of the Black vote and the necessity of progressive public opinion to dissuade Black voters from identifying with the rise of revolutionary nationalism. The entire show was a billion dollar Academy Award soliloquy on rewarding Blacks Amerikkkanization. Broken dreams and broken promises had to be rewarded by the highest political office in the land to keep the real dream deferred. Every four years, the Amerikkkan presidency campaign must capture "negroes" renewed hopes, aspirations and righteous forgiveness of Amerikkka's 400 year treachery. Its brutal rejection of Blacks own

In order to win he would have to carry millions of ex-slaves with him

existence as equal to whites must become yesterday's relics. 1993 topped all other inaugurations. The Democrats have established a history of painting Amerikkka the country of plurality and democratic rights for all it's people and multicultural homogeneity.

The new Southern college boys, born in the forties, from the Vietnam war era that were harpooned and christened by the JFK magic would stalk the National Question. Ivy league educated, confederate loyalists would now take their turn at national leadership. Racist Bill Clinton had presidential vision and began to carve out his niche at Oxford. An all-american, ambitious, the new high profile player who would dare to cross the Mason-Dixie line into national prominence. In order to win he would have to carry millions of ex-slaves with him. All of the memories of slavery, the civil war, the lies of reconstruction, and the KKK reign of terror had to be buried. He would accomplish this feat in grand style.

Different Name, Same Game: New Generation Politics (Stalk) the National Question

The southern democrats were turning another great page of infamous history of cajoling and inspiring its slaves to be obedient to the myths of Amerikkkan bourgeois democracy. The entire inauguration festivities were apocalyptical. Watching this gala on TV was stupendous. It smacked at the realism of the famous Apollo marketing slogan, "The Apollo live, where dreams are made and stars are born." Clinton's hip campaign antics were classical. He worked voodoo-like magic on the negroes

slavery, lynching and racism vanish before "Negroes" tearful eyes. Bought and sold these house slaves only ambition is seeking recognition and acceptance by the new president on the block, republican or democrat.

Supranegro strawboss, Vernon Jordan would be the prize catch in '92. He worked brilliantly behind the scenes orchestrating the new image and role of the political "corporate negro." Being more loyal and faithful to the democratic process and more Amerikkkan than Americans themselves. Jordan



who wanted to be free by white standards. Millions of others would witness, while the house slaves participated in the Pennsylvania finale of government and big business mass media psychological warfare game. The objective and sole purpose being to keep all of their slaves loyal and obedient to the master's beck and call, and the myth of the plurality of the Amerikkkan dream of success, money, stardom, and faith in "their" president.

Aretha, Michael Jackson and Maya Angelou would lead the pageantry of slick looking, back slapping super slaves whose new found love for their new slave master was pitifully embarrassing.

Despite the irrationality of it all, year after year "Negroes" take the bait. The African lost tribe of Amerikkka continues to allow itself to be hoodwinked by white Amerikkka's games and tricks - very quickly the nightmares of

would craftily distance himself from all the amateur bootlicking machine negro lackeys. More calculating, and methodical, as well as dangerous, his every move before and after the Democratic convention was classical. Like a crafty chess player of machiavellian strategy, he avoided the media hype high profiling, alas Jesse "CIA operative" Jackson. He never publicly put himself at odds with the corporate world and the new southern populists. His reward would be to be the new "Black" high stakes player inside the corporate world.

The seductive rhetoric of liberal idealism had worked its magic. Evangelical faith in the protestant ethic, the Clinton and Gore new charm, would anoint millions from the oppressed nations to have faith in Amerikkka's double standard of justice and equality.

Clinton and Gore would encircle Blacks-'92, L.A. rage by directing their focus and attention on

Bush's weakness, the domestic economic crisis of capitalism: a sagging economy and the devastation of Black's democratic rights. They would promise the naive and gullible American white voters a 100 days reminiscent of FDR's push to lift Amerikkka from the Great Depression. A new diverse coalition for the 90s. Clinton would court and win support from racist whites, more women, more single people, more moderates, and more whites than past Democratic mosaics. 83% of the Black voting population voted for Clinton, Hispanics/Latinos 62%, but equally mind boggling, is that Bush received 11% of the Black vote and 52% of the Asian vote.

Clinton would win the popular vote 43% to Bush's 38% and Perot's 19%. The electoral college, Clinton won by a landslide 357 to Bush's 168. The most racist states in the Union gave Bush the popular vote: Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina,

He now had to preserve the integrity of the US foreign policy...also had to count the Black vote

Virginia, and Indiana. After sundown, Black people can't be caught in the streets.

George Bush, the last president of the WWII generation would have to pass the torch of Amerikkka's imperialist foreign policy to a new southern downhome boy. The cornerstone and anchor of Bush's high popularity with the white majority was his gunboat diplomacy. He now had to preserve the integrity of the US foreign policy with the new generation racists who also had to court the Black vote.

Bush's final salvo and "blood stained" badge of honor, would end like he began, the consummate-CIA policeman obsessed with brute force and military might being the cornerstone of US foreign policy. Hegemony over the world's resources and oppressed people's sovereignty. The renewed bombing of Iraq, the so-called humanitarian relief operation into Africa. Somalia would be his last desperate coup de'grace. The continuous turning back of the Haitians fleeing from their homeland, and the internment of thousands in the concentration camps at Guantanamo, Cuba represent blatant racism.

Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Iraq and Russia are hotspots, all quagmires left over from the Bush administration foreign policy of expansions and human rights violations.

cont. on page 18

Economic Crisis and the Rise of the Right

There can be little doubt that the mood of the beleaguered ruling circles in the US is fast consolidating the pre-eminence of the right. Indeed not simply the right wing but the most reactionary sectors thereof.

Domestically we are experiencing one of the more serious cyclical crisis of capitalism. Ushering in the "free market" foreign policy at home, economic poll after economic poll, from polls showing a "growth" economy to dooms day polls, show that the market is neither free nor democratic.

In the closing third of this century, faced with economic crises

giving rise to what Betram Gross has called "friendly" fascism, "The logic of friendly fascism... is responding to crisis by actions that consolidate power" to such an extent that they are calling for the advent of "friendly" fascism. Elected representatives call openly for the National Guard to police our communities. Other "leaders" seek open paid alliances with the local police departments. Albeit they call for Black national Guardsmen and Black police to carry out the "free market concept" in our communities and neighborhoods, the police presence in our communities is increasingly pervasive and repressive.

Walter Stafford, visiting

There has been a rise of fascism in the US... disguised by the facade of "democracy," seen in the increase of police brutality and racist violence, state sponsored economic terrorism, erosion of democratic rights, international militarization...

that threaten the rule of the very rich, there has been a rise of fascism in the US, which is disguised by the facade of "democracy." It can be seen in: the increase of police brutality and racist violence; the waging of state sponsored economic terrorism geared to marginalizing Black workers and youth; the steady erosion of democratic rights in the legal arena; international militarization against communism/terrorism, with the real goal of suppressing national self-determination.

Consolidation of the shrinking market is fast showing itself in all spheres of our lives. Without any exaggeration, we know that for those of us at the lowest rung of the employment "free" market we will never work again. Despite repeated pronouncements of racial progress and the achievements of some individuals, people of African descent in the United States are still oppressed. Our infant mortality rate is twice that of the white populace. Our life expectancy is significantly shorter. Our wealth is negligible. Our rate of incarceration is wildly disproportionate. In every sphere of life - political, civil, economic, social, cultural - the relation of Black folks to the white population is like that of Jamaica to the US, i.e. of a developing country to an economically developed one. Africans, by all objective indicators, represent an oppressed nation within the US.

The "downsizing" of major multinational corporations continues to push down that intermediate, managerial class whose consumption of goods and services far outweighed their real cash accumulation. This downsizing (depression, recession) has created considerable uncertainty, for them,

professor at NYU called it "reinventing the evil empire." The market understands collective security only for its own interests, not the public interest, therefore cultural values of other nations or groups (than white business roundtable elite) don't need to be recognized. In NYC this minimizes the need to include Africans, Latinos and other people of color.

Culture as a human right is undermined and becomes the weapon of choice for the "free market forces." In those countries where human rights must be de-emphasized in deference to the market place of the new world order, at best they become "idealistic anachronisms" cited to



Culture as a human right is undermined and becomes the weapon of choice for the "free market forces"...

open new markets or attack those who oppose them. Those who chose to fight for self-determination are choose their own political/economic system are punished for resisting the interference by the US government -

Cuba, for example.

The conditions we face threaten our very existence as a people. But we must be clear that these conditions - the drugs, the guns, and violence, the anarchy and dehumanization of some of our



Our situation cannot be resolved by appeals to the agencies responsible for creating these conditions....

youth are not due to some fault of our own. They are the results of capitalism in decay. those people who are responsible for maintaining these conditions would have us believe that they have the solution - law and order. More police, more prisons, tougher laws. Our situation cannot be resolved by appeals for help to the agencies of the very people responsible for creating them. To do that would be to place our heads in the noose of the executioner. The times demand us to resist the seduction of US propaganda and media manipulation. If we are to survive, we must see clearly and think objectively and be self-determining.



Africans and World Revolution

The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in diaspora, and the masses worldwide. It is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes: and it is there, Africa, where they will meet their ultimate defeat.



Violation of Human Rights in Angola

Presentation by Georges Rebelo Chito, Deputy foreign minister of Angola to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland, February 1994

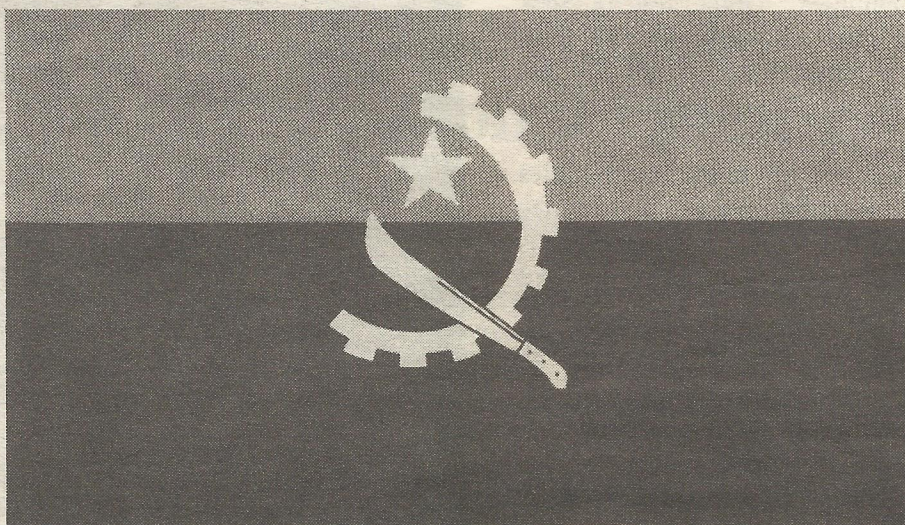
Honorable Delegates,

The world is undergoing a very critical moment of transition as far as the subject of Human Rights is concerned. Because of the hope we had placed in our capacity of conflict resolution and management

Democratic processes have ended up in terrible bloodshed... affecting seriously the fundamental freedom of the people...

after the end of the Cold War we are today shocked by the cruel and inhuman nature of some conflicts which should not leave us indifferent. We should have a realistic approach, as the East-West confrontation was simply a pretext for some nations to show that they were better than others in the protection of Human Rights, when they themselves [did] not hesitate to make nuclear tests on their own people. Honorable Delegates, this is pure crime against mankind. Some people and groups seemed to show that Human Rights were an ideological problem, but now that the cold war is over, the world is still not a safer place. Human Rights continue to be violated.

In relation to the development of



democracy in the world, we are equally astonished by the weak results we have achieved, while at the beginning of the 90s our expectations were very high. Very few countries have made significant steps while a large number of countries still have a long way to go. In some countries, democratic processes have ended up in terrible bloodshed that have caused political instability which is affecting seriously the fundamental freedom of the people. We also note that a number of countries that placed democracy as a fundamental right, no longer defend the principles, especially when those who are violating these values are their friends....

Mr. Chairman,

The international community and in particular the United Nations have had an important participation in the democratization process and

in peace keeping in many countries. Considerable efforts have been made, although the achievements are still very slow to come. For this reason, we wish that during this session it will be important to have a close look at the nature of the problems that we face and the methods we use in identifying Human Rights violations so that we can elaborate sustainable and realistic approaches in our action. None of us here can remain indifferent to what is happening in Bosnia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Liberia, Somalia and also in Burundi, Sudan, Congo, and in many other countries where up to now, the conflicts have not attracted the international press or affected the interest of the powerful nations.

In Angola, for example, the year 1993 was the most tragic since its independence in 1975. In only 12 months, more than 500 hundred

thousand people died in the war, out of which 40 percent are children below the age of 10 years. These figures have made the Angolan conflict the most cruel since the so-called "Post Cold War Era." Some organizations have qualified this conflict as being ten times more violent than the one in Bosnia.

The most unacceptable aspect of this conflict is that beyond these 500 hundred thousand dead, we have 200 thousand orphans and 3 million displaced people. This means refugees in their own country, entirely dependent on the Government and humanitarian aid.

In Angola... in only 12 months, more than 500 hundred thousand people died in the war, out of which 40 percent are children below the age of 10 years...

The death rate in my country is so high that there are as many as 25 children dying every day in some hospitals from the direct and indirect effects of the war. This war was unilaterally started by UNITA as a result of the rejection of the elections verdict in which she was defeated. The people expressed its will in the presence of the United Nations and international observers who qualified the ballot as free and fair for all.

Honorable Delegates,

cont. on page 18

Who Are the Human Rights Violators?

Document submitted by the Sudanese Mission at the 48th Session of the General Assembly of the UN based on Statistics and information provided by Amnesty International Report April 1993 covering the period January to December 1992

Amnesty International describes itself as a worldwide voluntary movement that works to prevent some of the gravest violations by governments of peoples fundamental human rights. The following table is extracted from statistics and data provided by Amnesty International regarding four countries: The USA, Britain, Israel and the Sudan.

The four countries were chosen by the Research Unit of the Mission of Sudan to the United Nations because the United States, ignoring its own human rights violations, decided to add the name of Sudan to the list of countries sponsoring terrorism for mere political reasons and is also known for politicizing human rights issues....

The table below, from the perspective of an independent source, clearly shows that the level of human rights violations in the Sudan, as a least developed country, is far below that of each of the countries listed hereunder. The comparison in the table also reveals the glaring politicization of human rights issues with reference to the case of the Sudan.

*The figures cited above are provided by Amnesty International Report April 1993 and are not comprehensive. They do not include, for example, the gross violations of the human and political rights of about 40 million African Americans for over a century, and other violations such as the mysterious killing by fire of about 100 persons, including children and women in Waco, Texas, where the incident was not investigated or even received a fair media coverage.

Description of Violations & Reported Incidents (1)*				
	USA	Britain	Israel	Sudan
Violation of Asylum seekers treaties	4321	89	520	--
Prisoners of Conscience	33	41	4221	3
Use of excessive force	630	1132	10,987	14
Physical brutality	310	981	20,110	7
Unjustified shooting by armed forces	43	685	8,211	1
Interrogation by use of excessive force	733	418	9,342	31
Prisoners killed under detention	19	6	10	--
Deportation from homeland	13	5	416	--
Ill-treatment of inmates	222	46	2,100	--
Torture of prisoners using electric shock	82	--	816	--
Torture of prisoners by beating	21	92	654	--
Cruel, inhumane and degrading punishment	94	32	3,211	14
Unwarranted use of police dogs	47	16	1,827	--
Violations against indigenous people	3121	49	14,222	69
Cases of miscarriage of justice	49	132	609	--
Cases of sectarian killing	22	1	29	1
Cases of charges of preventing the course of justice	14	89	96	1
Cases of brutality against children	161	339	1719	--
Cases of shooting without warning	49	92	212	--
Cases of violation of religious rights	6	29	42	--
Deportation of political refugees	9	32	191	--
Extrajudicial executions and disappearances	--	--	91	2
Confiscation of properties	--	--	3114	29
Executions	31	--	--	1

Africa and World Revolution

Bophuthatswana: Choosing Sides

by Glennes Bryant

Bophuthatswana was created by the apartheid government of South Africa as a Bantustan for the Tswanas tribe. The land not only has platinum, gold, granite, chrome, limestone, diamonds and other minerals in abundant supply, it is also the place where Sun City resort is located. Designed to rival Las Vegas, it is one of the biggest attractions in the region. Mr. Mangape, put in power by the racist white South African regime, vowed

to maintain the status quo in the face of the dismantling of the Bantustans. White terrorists came into the region to aid him. However, they got the welcome they deserved when the African troops fired on the invaders, killing several. The armed forces of the Bantustan had been formed and trained by the racist South African regime, but when given a choice between defending their people and defending apartheid, they came down on the right side. *Amandla!*



Rebellion in the township as its leader refuses to register for elections.



Zaire's Rich Mines Abandoned to Scavengers

Zaire, a country rich in minerals such as copper and cobalt, has stopped industrial level mining due to political instability. The profits from the mine helped keep dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in power. Now that the Western powers, Mobutu's friends through decades of corruption, have decided to push for "democracy" as the new tactic to rule Africa, he is no longer the recipient of money from the multinational agencies such as the IMF and World Bank. Soldiers have rioted and ethnic strife between the Kasai, who were brought into the region by the Belgian and the Katanga, whose land it is, is escalating. As the country slips into chaos, the Western powers will be better able to come in and retake the nationalized mining industry.

Reign of Terror Continues in Haiti as World Watches

In March the United Nations declared that over 70 people had been killed by the Haitian military. The increased terror is an attempt to stamp out any continuing support for the country's exiled President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

In March alone, 21 bodies have appeared, a vast majority of them in Cite Soleil, a slum known for its high concentration of people loyal to President Aristide. At least one body, that of Daddy Pierre, a well-known Aristide supporter, had the whole face cut off.

Other bodies have been found with features disfigured by machete and knife wounds. A senior official with the international human rights

observer mission in Haiti said the faces had been mutilated to make identification difficult.

Several dismembered corpses have been left in the streets of Cite Soleil, where they have lain in for hours and sometimes even for days before being collected and taken to the city morgue.

One resident asserted that anyone daring to remove or grieve over the bodies was targeted afterward.

Home to around 200,000 people, Cite Soleil has retained much of its militant reputation even as pro-Aristide voices in the provinces have been silenced by the military-backed repression.

Whites Steal S. African Gold

Excerpted from an article in *NY Newsday*, by Susan Hack

They smuggle gold Krugerrands out of the country in suitcases, soap bars and jars of face cream. They sail luxury yachts to safe moorings on the other side of the Atlantic. They hire foreign couriers to deposit cash in Swiss bank accounts. By hook and often by crook, wealthy whites nervous about a future without apartheid are shifting billions of dollars of assets out of South Africa.

Experts attribute escalating capital flight to a basket of fears concerning Nelson Mandela's African National Congress. The ANC looks certain to win South Africa's first democratic elections, scheduled for April 27-29, by a landslide of mainly Black votes. But its ability to govern the country, maintain law and order and conduct sound economic policy all remain untested.

While there is no certainty about the amount of cash being

smuggled out of the country, figures released this month by the Reserve Bank indicate that South Africa's foreign lenders are also pulling up stakes to reduce their post-election exposure. Reserve Bank statistics show that the rate of capital outflow doubled in the last six months of 1993, reaching a total of about \$4.5 billion for the year and leaving the country with only \$2.7 billion in gold and foreign currency reserves - enough to cover imports for only five weeks....

The ANC, which proclaimed its election manifesto a week ago, promising a massive public works program to uplift Blacks, has sought to reassure whites that their wealth and skills are badly needed in the new South Africa. But while ANC officials have abandoned talk of nationalization and committed the organization to fiscal and monetary discipline, they remain vague on how they will undo the apartheid economy....

Elections in Togo

Based on an article in *West Africa*

Togo recently had multi-party elections for the first time since independence. The former ruling party, the Togolese People's Rally, had been in power for 24 years. They issued a pre-emptive self-congratulatory statement shortly after the run-off elections, proclaiming that they were the largest political entity in the country's new national assembly.

But in an interview conducted by *West Africa*, Mr. Yawovi Agboyibo, leader of the Committee for Renewed Action party (CAR), sounded confident about the yet-to-be-announced results. Already, the National Electoral Commission had proclaimed 20 out of the remaining 24 seats. Mr. Agboyibo's CAR party took a whopping 14 out of them making it one of the largest in the country with 33 out of the 81 seats. He has kept out of the

public eye since he finished his house-to-house campaign in the run up to polling day on February 20.

The statement by the former ruling party had pointed accusing fingers at the CAR which it said organized systematic fraud in most of the constituencies where run-offs were held between the two parties.

But Mr. Agboyibo replied, "The RPT never imagined that it could be defeated at the polls with all its manipulations. They complain that CAR cheated. Who organized the elections? The electorate told them in a fair language that they are tired of them, that was all."

Legally the National Electoral Commission should publish the results 72 hours after polling. This did not happen; instead the Commission said it had refereed them to the Supreme Court for approval. The end story of the elections have not yet been heard.

HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW

Another Biased Death Penalty

NY Times Editorial March 17, 1994

The numbers are amazing, even for those familiar with the racial discrimination that plagues the death penalty. Nine out of ten times the Justice Department has sought that death penalty under the 1988 Federal "drug kingpin" law, the defendant was Black or Hispanic. Don Edwards, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, whose staff collected the statistics, understandably asks why.

It is a timely question as the committee considers how many of the Senate's proposed new capital crimes - there are more than 50

law, the death penalty is available to punish and deter drug-related murders by major narcotics operators and their hirelings. The Government has invoked the law against 37 defendants, all but 4 of whom were African American or Hispanic. Attorney General Janet approved 10 of the penalties over the past year - all against Black defendants.

What makes the lopsided statistics especially odd is that in recent years, three-fourths of all Federal drug trafficking defendants have been white. Why then do US

*The state has been notorious for...
seeking the death penalty more
often when the victim was white
and the defendant Black...*

altogether - to recommend for House approval. So far neither the Justice Department nor Congressional fans of the death penalty have any answer, reason enough to slow down the execution express now barreling through Congress.

Under the 1988 "drug kingpin"

Attorneys tend to single out minorities when they identify defendants they deem worthy of the severest punishment? How can this happen when the Federal Government, and the Clinton Administration in particular, have been so committed to racial justice?



Death row inmate and LDF client Barry Lee Fairchild (r), who claims his 1983 confessions were violently coerced by deputies from Pulaski County, Arkansas.

Again: Why do these patterns exist? The Justice Department needs to explain the working of its fledgling death penalty apparatus. Meanwhile the ugly answer must be that the death penalty is, again, government by bias. Congress, take notice.

Since 1976, when the Supreme Court authorized the resumption of executions for murder, the states have been notorious for their prosecution patterns, seeking the death penalty more often when the victim was white and the defendant Black, almost never against a white whose victim was Black.

Blacks Get Inferior AIDS Care

by Laurie Garret

Reprint from NY Newsday

Black people infected with the AIDS virus are far less likely to get state-of-the-art treatment than are whites, researchers report, even when both had employer-paid medical insurance.

"We were really astounded to see the racial differences that exist," Dr. Richard Chaisson of Johns Hopkins Medical School said. "And after reviewing care for people with HIV disease, I'm forced to conclude that there really is a racial difference in how physicians are treating people."

Although the research was done in Baltimore, there is reason to believe the conclusions apply to New York as well, according to officials with the city and state of New York, as well as Gay Men's Health Crisis, an AIDS service group in Manhattan.

State and city data clearly show that African-Americans and Hispanic people infected with the human immunodeficiency virus that causes AIDS are under-enrolled in a state program that provides free medication. For example, for every white individual who tested positive for HIV in the state last year, 6.2 African-Americans and 5.9 Hispanics did. Yet members of the three groups are enrolled in state HIV medication programs in about equal proportions.

In the Baltimore study, Chaisson ordered a careful survey of treatments provided in 838 patients

prior to their admission to Johns Hopkins' HIV program between March, 1990 and December 1992. Typically, the patients previously had been seen by a private doctor or public clinic.

The results - which compared whites and Blacks of identical HIV disease stages, ages, genders and health insurance status - were "startling," Chaisson said. Some 63 percent of the whites had been on AZT, the key anti-HIV drug. But only 48 percent of their Black counterparts were on the drug.

Even more striking were differences in use of drugs to prevent potentially fatal bouts of pneumocystis pneumonia, or PCP. These drugs clearly extend patients' lives, and are among the most strongly recommended parts of AIDS care.

Eighty-two percent of the white patients in the Hopkins study were already on PCP prevention drugs when they entered the Johns Hopkins AIDS program, compared with only 58 percent of African-Americans.

"When we saw this data we wondered whether Blacks were reluctant to be treated. Were more skeptical of AZT or more distrusting of the medical system?", Chaisson said. But after six months under care in the Hopkins program, no racial differences could be discerned in patients' willingness to take either AZT or PCP prevention drugs.

"So the problem was at the level

of primary care," Chaisson said. "I think it has to do with the level of knowledge of the doctors in these communities, their lack of familiarity with HIV. We can't

attribute it to poverty - all the patients were poor. We can't attribute it to Black patients not wanting therapy, because they did want the medications."

Fighting Racism in the UN

by Raheem Williams

In December 1993, the United Nations' Commission on Human Rights appointed Mr. Maurice Glele-Ahanhanzon as the first Special Rapporteur on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. The appointment of Mr. Glele is a victory for African people in the US. Since 1989, when the December 12th Movement began its active participation in the UN (first as part of the Freedom Now Political Prisoner/Prisoner of War Campaign and then as a member of the International Association Against Torture) our goal has been to draw international attention to the situation facing 40,000,000 Africans in the US and our incarcerated freedom fighters. Over the last six years, we have continually called for the appointment of a special rapporteur (i.e. an investigator) to report on racism in the US. In March of last year, the Commission finally created the post which Mr. Glele assumed in December. The US and other western powers tried to block the creation of a Special

Rapporteur on Racism, but given the reality of increasing racism in their countries, they could not openly oppose such a position. So their tactic was to broaden the mandate, the guidelines the special rapporteur would use to determine what he had to investigate. By stretching the definition of the issue from racism in the developed world, he could conceivably end up dealing with ethnic disputes in Africa, Asia and Latin America rather than racism in the US, Canada and Europe. We have been told by delegates that our work had a lot to do with its creation.

This same goal of diverting attention from the racism faced by African people throughout the Diaspora could be seen in the Commission session which just ended on March 11th. For nearly four weeks there was a heated debate on a resolution concerning the UN's Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Turkey introduced the resolution which spoke of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and

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Dare To Struggle

Who Killed Malcolm? I Was There!

by Akbar Obadele

I was there every Saturday on 115th and Lenox Avenue to hear Malcolm, my Prince and what he had to say about white folks - which I loved! Malcolm would use every invective diatribe he knew. You could see how Malcolm was growing and as he grew, the crowd grew larger and larger in number. When Malcolm made his famous speech at the Manhattan Center after President John F. Kennedy was killed, the best part of Malcolm's speech was "the chicken coming home to roost" and that is when the Nation of Islam took that as an excuse to sit Malcolm down.

After the Nation sat Malcolm down, Malcolm went to Africa. The tenacity of those people in Egypt! They tried to poison Malcolm! Then on his way back, he tried to land in France. France would not let Malcolm land in Paris because they did not want him killed on their soil. How did France know that Malcolm was looking at death? Because their brother, the United States government had told them. The Nation of Islam did not have that kind of influence in the US government.

After Malcolm came home, he formed an organization and shortly

Basic Document of the Communist Party of Peru: The Shining Path

Excerpted from a document mailed to ATM

In the midst of the nineteenth century, with the appearance of Marxism, the working class arose as the new class and the last in history. With the "Manifesto of the Communist Party the proletariat brandished the program which would take humanity towards a new world, to a communist society, to a classless society. This is the program and the path which all must necessarily cross under the leadership of the proletariat concretized in its Party. There is no other path for the classes, there is no other path for humanity. World history easily proves this. The October Revolution, Chinese revolution and others, the rising national liberation movement, the persistent march of the international working class and its revolutionary parties are all part of this inevitable path. A path which in the coming 50 or 100 years will decisively develop in the great struggles that shake the earth, as Chairman Mao Tse-Tung teaches....

In the first place, the struggle for power demands the organization of the proletariat and its importance is such that it composes its only weapon....

after he started Sunday meetings. On that last meeting night, we were going to the Audubon Ballroom. There were five of us together. All five are still living today. As we were going up the stairs, one fellow remarked, "No police outside and no police inside". Malcolm came on the stage and he greeted us with "As-Salaam Alaikum" and we returned the greeting. Shortly thereafter, a noise came from the middle of the crowd "Get your hands out of my pocket!" Before that, Malcolm had only said a few words and then gunshots were fired. Most of the people hit the floor and I went to the stage. There were 13 to 14 holes in Malcolm's chest. The blood was gushing out! There was a man giving him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. People said he was the same fellow who had turned in the Panther Party, Gene Simmons. He was a member of the Mau Mau at one time. They had suspected him because his wife sported fancy hair-dos and Gene left the Mau Mau organization. Shortly thereafter, the Mau Mau broke up.

That is what I saw when I was around Malcolm. The worst day of my life was when Malcolm was killed.



Malcolm as he lay dying was taken by stretcher from the Audubon Ballroom to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital. He was declared dead on arrival.

Pan African Unity on the Right to Development



Brother Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, placed **Human Rights** on the agenda of Africans throughout the Diaspora. In the general, this recognition and understanding of Human Rights directly attacked the racist theories which placed Africa and Africans outside the currents of world history and events. More particularly, it showed those of us held captive in the United States how to break out of the restrictions which "civil rights" placed on our struggle. Human Rights put our struggle in the international arena and established yet another basis upon which to strengthen Pan-African unity.

The December 12th Movement regards **Development** as one of the key human rights. Development, in all its aspects - economic, political,

environmental - is simply the satisfaction of basic human needs. The right to development is key to the human condition, both collectively and individually. Walter Rodney, another leading Pan-Africanist, understood the significance which development played in the struggles of Africans worldwide. His classic work, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, provided us with an understanding of the historical reality which helps explain our present collective lack of development relative to that of North America and Europe. Capitalism, from its bloody birth to its present stage of near death, has grown, lived and maintained its dominance by suppressing African development.

This vampire-like relationship between white society's development

be clearly seen in the situation of Africans in the United States. In the confines of the world's leading capitalist society where 1% of the population controls 40% of the wealth, African people exist as **collectivities of underdevelopment**, a de facto nation within a nation...

Democracy, in its real sense of mass participation, has always been a part of African tradition. It is only in the twentieth century that the Western countries have consciously attempted to confuse people by equating the political concept of "democracy" with the economic concept of capitalism, that you can't have one without the other. Living in the world's alleged "leading democracy," the December 12th Movement is very familiar with the "game" that they are running on us. Our bitter experience has taught us that there can be no real democracy without development. That the right to vote every two to four years means nothing if a person has no right to food, clothing and shelter.

As we have repeatedly stated in our participation at the United Nations over the past six years, Africans must understand our mutual struggle for development. To the extent that we can defeat the perception fueled by U.S. propaganda that Africans in the U.S. are a free and prosperous people, with all the "opportunities" available to white U.S. citizens, we will have taken an important step towards forging real Pan-African unity.

Law & Order 1994

cont. from page 2

authorities to define a gang in an arbitrary and racist manner. Statistics from around the country indicate that gang membership most often ends up being defined not by conduct, but by race, class, neighborhood and clothes. For example, 93% of the Denver police gang member list is Black or Hispanic. This provision ignores the reality of urban life and gang membership. According to one expert, only 10% of gang members are "hard-core members." For most others, gang membership is due to peer pressure and a lack of any social programs to help them.

The Crime provision holds people guilty by association, a standard which until now has been held unconstitutional. The ACLU analysis points out that "constitutionally required protections are missing from the crime bill's anti-gang provision ... It sweeps within its coverage many innocent individuals, as well as others who may violate the law but not pose the problems of violent crime that the provision seeks to curtail. For example, possession of drugs is a crime under the bill; thus the Senate gang provision could subject college fraternity brothers to 20 years imprisonment if one fraternity member smokes marijuana."

Prison Caps: according to the ACLU, this provision would "place significant new restrictions on the authority of federal judges to enter orders directed at correcting unsafe

"Preventive detention" is now a bedrock of US law...

and dangerous prison conditions and to provide an effective judicial forum to vindicate the constitutional rights retained by prisoners under Supreme Court precedents. This legislation would not only deprive prisoners of the opportunity to enforce the obligation of the states and local government to provide for their 'basic human needs,' it would deprive prison administrators and staff from securing necessary resources to improve conditions and reduce the dangers of working in a prison environment." Given the increase in both prisons and the prison population, this is a recipe for disaster. One that will inevitably lead to more Attica-type rebellions.

Those of you who may think that this analysis is simply a product of radical paranoia should remember the debate surrounding the passage of the 1984 Omnibus Crime Control Act. The public was told that the "No Bail" provision of that act was designed to address the supposed problem of crimes committed by career criminals while out on bail. A worst case scenario was painted

of ex-con Mafiosi who were menacing society. The way to remedy this dire situation was for the public to agree to a slight encroachment on the 8th Amendment's right to bail. In other words, in certain limited situations, a person would have no right to bail. Once it was passed the charade was over. The very first time it was used was against the New York 8, a group of Black men and women, political activists. None of them had any prior criminal record, nor were they accused of any substantive act. They were charged with conspiracy, of "thought-crimes." Eventually they were acquitted. After that auspicious start, it was applied routinely and indiscriminately against federal arrestees. Several states adopted similar legislation. "Preventive Detention" which was denounced by the international community as one of the most oppressive aspects of South African apartheid, was now a bedrock of US law. A constitutional amendment had been gutted.

History has a wicked sense of irony. The politically ambitious US Attorney who launched the "No-Bail" law in the prosecution of the NY 8 was ... Rudolph Giuliani.

Reparations for Attack on Florida Blacks

cont. from page 3

The attack on Rosewood began on Jan. 1, 1923, when a white woman from nearby Summer said a Black man had assaulted her. Whites formed a posse to hunt down her supposed assailant and lynched a Black man, although there was no evidence he had attacked the woman. The posse continued to grow over several days, besieging the homes of other Black families in the town of a few hundred people.

At least six Blacks and two whites were killed, and numerous other Black residents disappeared. When the rampage was over, every Black-owned home in Rosewood, as well as all of the Black-owned businesses and churches had been burned down and every Black resident forced to flee.

No Prosecutions

A month later, a grand jury was appointed to investigate the attack, but it concluded that there was insufficient evidence to prosecute any posse members. Only in recent years, largely as a result of research by historians and their families to come forward, has attention once again focused on the case.

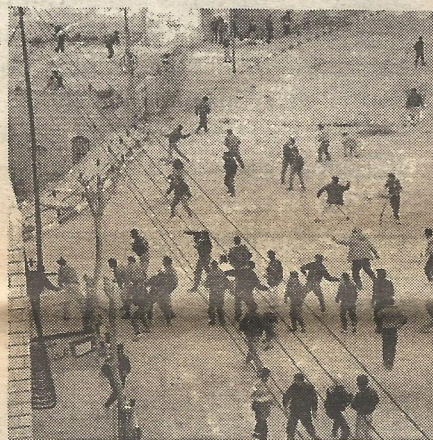
A panel of historians was appointed by the state to investigate the case as a result of the claims, and it concluded in a report completed last year that government officials had failed to "control local events and request proper assistance."

California Children

cont. from page 3

attending meetings of the School Board, expressing their concerns about the new \$8 million and \$3 million football field since the budget was \$10 million yearly. They were dismissed by the school board and told that the district was fiscally sound. Board members told the parents that the superintendent's salary was commensurate to his outstanding performance and fiscal wizardry. As for the students' poor academic performance, the board said the district was doing the best it could, given the area's poverty and education level. They blamed the students' poor performance on their homes.

The school board has been accused of civil rights violations for discriminating against the students based on their race. This is clearly a case of grand larceny by some common thieves who took advantage of poor non-English speaking people as well as them being denied their human rights to education.



In Hebron, Palestinian youth stone a Jewish settlement.

Palestine

cont. from page 4

Arabs for long periods of time, arbitrary bans on travel and work permits, humiliating searches and arrests of Palestinians - steps which highlight the fact that Israel itself is a terrorist state.

With the passage of a March 18th Security Council resolution condemning the massacre, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan have agreed to resume peace negotiations. The PLO, the key Palestinian player, has not yet indicated its willingness to resume talks. They want further guarantees.

But the Goldstein attack has exposed that there can be no guarantees when you are operating from a position of weakness. The first question that leaped to most observers' minds after the massacre was why didn't the Palestinians have their own security? What made them believe that they could now trust Israeli soldiers to secure their safety? It is this leap of faith in the integrity of a terrorist state that led to the unnecessary deaths of the Hebron martyrs, which underlies the Gaza-Jericho autonomy accord and which lies at the base of the entire negotiation process toward peace in the Middle East. As Hebron so tragically demonstrated such a leap in faith is not only mistaken but fatal.



Cuba's President Fidel Castro.

Cuban Refugees

cont. from page 4

Since the inclusion of human rights activists as another category, we have kept a flexible and responsive approach to them ... In cases where the activist's supporting evidence is weak, but commitment to us is otherwise clear, prescreening officers have given the applicant the benefit of the doubt.

Considerations: In the face of a general decline in the quality of the cases, including those involving ex-political prisoners. USINT will need to work harder in identifying the best cases. With a view to help in this effort, it will introduce additional changes in the processing of cases...

However, the USINT will maintain the flexibility to present cases that may not meet all of the criteria but that given their nature may prove useful for US interests.

Given the CIA's expressed interest in the subject of human rights, and its greater involvement with and better knowledge of the different groups, we suggest a closer cooperation with USINT in line with our common goals. [Emphasis ATM]

Editor's note: According to news reports, the State Department has denied the authenticity of the document. Given the document's devastating expose of US misrepresentation of the Cuban situation, this "plausible denial" by the US is all that they could do.

Colombia

cont. from page 4

fastest-growing market worldwide for US goods. According to President Gaviria, this import surge created 45,000 new jobs in the US.

Overall, Colombia's imports nearly doubled in three years, from \$7 billion in 1991 to \$13 billion in 1993...

"The change in Colombia is almost miraculous," said an American banker who has lived and worked here for more than 30 years. "Only 15 years ago they were 'Colombianizing' the banks.

cont. on page 17

Columbia: 2 Countries

cont. from page 16

Today, they are raffling off the second-largest bank in Colombia, one called Banco de Colombia..."

Although Colombia's macroeconomic indicators look good, not all boats are rising. The number of people living below the poverty line has increased by about one million since 1990, to include about half of Colombia's population of 33 million. In 15 years, the gap between average rural and urban incomes doubled.

"Blind people believe that armed uprisings of the poor don't match the happy times in which we live: times of cellular telephones, of newspapers with pink pages just like The Financial Times, of privatizations and of free-trade treaties," Antonio Caballero, one of Colombia's most acerbic left-wing columnists, wrote in a news weekly, Cambio 16 Colombia.

"Our countries are countries of two floors: a penthouse built on a slum," he continued. "Neoliberalism has a simultaneous double effect: filling the penthouse with electronic goodies, including burglar alarms, while making the slum below ever more uninhabitable for the great majorities that live there."

Special Ed

cont. from page 5

shuffling them around, making it impossible for them to complete a school grade on time. The bulk of the money received, however, is used up in exorbitant salaries and administrative expenses, with mere pennies actually reaching the children and the program.

Most often, the teaching staff of these classes, although they are paid higher salaries than regular teachers, are improperly trained, do not understand the children, are afraid of them, and care very little about them. Academic classes are not emphasized and generally the children accept the labels placed on them, such as "learning disabled, mentally retarded or emotionally imbalanced," and the children's self-confidence is eventually shot. We send eager and intelligent babies to these schools and they are placed into these classes because their teachers, not recognizing that these children are indeed specially gifted, wrongly label them "uncontrollable", when most times they are simply unchallenged and bored.

The Special Education system on a national level is a perpetration of fraud, and represents a clear human rights violation of these children. Once in SPE, it is almost impossible to get the children out. Some battles for the release of the children are fought for years and before you know it, the children graduate out of SPE, with a worthless diploma.

Inadequately prepared academically, these children are

poor competitors in this modern world of technology. Most of these children find themselves unemployable, or unable to maintain employment that pays "living wages," and thus the revolving door to the prison system starts slowly turning. Studies indicate that two out of five prison inmates are either

The Special Education system on a national level is a perpetuation of fraud and... a clear human rights violation...

illiterate or were at one time placed in SPE classes. These children are set up from about age seven for the prison system.

This system is clearly an injustice and it is not working for our children. In unison, we must demand the eradication of Special Education. **NO MORE SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE BLACK AND LATINO COMMUNITIES.** Pressure these teachers to do their jobs, which is, we assume, to teach the children. We will no longer allow African and Latino children to be repressed in this manner. If they cannot teach the children, they are in the wrong profession and should be removed for the benefit of our children.



Tricks & Mirrors

cont. from page 6

in contrast, has deviated from the course of "BLACK POWER" in favor of "EMPOWERMENT." Some of us may ask "What is the difference?" The difference is plain and simple -SUBSTANCE. BLACK POWER calls into being the right to self-determination, the human right to self-defense, and the right to (autonomous) nationhood. This means fully "taking" (not asking) and fundamentally reshaping all of the institutions and commerce and industry, that is of our community. EMPOWERMENT, on the other hand, seeks to create an atmosphere where we will put Black people in "powerful" positions...in institutions, in our community, e.g. education, housing, hospitals, etc., ignoring the nature of these institutions with their set rules,

values, ethics, and guidelines, thereby creating a situation of prominence and powerlessness. This concept (empowerment) gives legitimacy to the status quo, while at the same time condemning it. Note: this criticism of the Nation of Islam seeks not to fall into the media's tactic of divide and conquer, but to lay constructive criticism, and promote the continuation of our 400 year old polemic. There cannot be any peaceful co-existence of 40 million oppressed Africans with a fast becoming fascist state. So then, what are the aspirations of 40 million Africans?

The struggle of 40 million Africans in Amerikkka is not a struggle by itself, but is tied to an international struggle, a Pan-African struggle. Our aspirations are no different than our brothers and sisters in Haiti, South Africa, Palestine, Mozambique, Trinidad, Nicaragua, Panama, Grenade, Ghana, etc., and that is one of Self-Determination, Self-Defense, Self-sufficiency (the 3 S's), and no to US Intervention. Our view is that the problems that we undergo each

Empowerment gives legitimacy to the status quo, while at the same time condemning it...

and every day exist because of the violation of our Human Right to the 3 S's. Also, we believe that based on historical observation, the Amerikkkan system (capitalism) is not capable of resolving these problems for us; therefore, we must do this for ourselves. We must begin this by organizing our people to this reality, which will eventually lead us into taking back (not asking for) our schools, hospitals, transportation, housing, media, factories, banks, etc. This is a general view of the aspirations of Africans in Amerikkka.

Our struggle has come full circle, the 90's is the upside down 60's, and we must learn from our mistakes. We must pay particular attention to the violent, deceitful propaganda of the Media. We must understand what Malcolm meant when he said: "We must take our struggle out of the realm of "Civil Rights and into the realm of Human Rights. We must understand what is the criterion of truth, what is the criterion of leadership. And most of all brothers and sisters, we must begin to think."

Black Youth

cont. from page 6

said that freedom is really about authority and individuals being willing "to cede to lawful authority a great deal of discretion about what you do authority and individuals being willing to cede a great deal of discretion about what you do ... we need more protection, we need more police, we need more jails and prisons, in order to offer a reasonable degree of safety to people so we can get through the period of time we're in now ... Hopefully, we come to some of the



Youth struggle for their view.

right answers in some of those other institutions of society [churches, families and communities] in five or 10 or 15 years from now [and] we'll have a more peaceful society." (New York Newsday, 17 march 1994).

Adolph's analysis conveniently ignores that it is the state that he represents which creates the violence in society that he now says is unacceptable and justifies more violence on his part. Giuliani has proposed budget cuts in every area of the city budget that provide human services to its residents, except for the police and fire departments. According to New York Newsday, he has refused to eliminate contract clauses which include paid days to shop for uniforms, extra pay to firefighters to "travel" to another borough and time off to wash up after false alarms. The Fire Department spends \$8.5 million annually on chauffeurs to take department officials to fires.

The conditions of their existence inevitably make Black youth a target of this state-sponsored violence. New York City no longer needs a poorly educated, industrial labor force. There are few options available for those young Black men and women who are the products of its "education" system. Many do not even graduate from high school. Of those who do, many lack the interest or preparation for college. Some of them may join the Army, not to defend the country, but to develop some job skills. But many more are drawn into the street life, where the returns on even petty crime far outweigh a minimum wage at McDonalds. The drugs and guns that flood the Black and Latino community are produced and manufactured outside that community and enter with the participation and for the profit of the US ruling class. While making huge profits for Black and Latino middlemen, the drugs and guns devastate its residents. The violence, organized and random, is pervasive. Drive-by shootings, attacks by crackheads, destruction of the family and any sense of community. It is only a matter of time before those who are involved in it face the armed force of the very state which created them. Giuliani, "It is the level of violence that we have today that is unacceptable."

In implementing its strategy,

cont. on page 18

cont. from page 10

Different Name Same Game

Clinton's art has yet to be labeled. But political deception will be his distinctive competence. He is banking on his impressive track record from his campaign. Keeping a distance yet maintaining a delicate balance on foreign policy and domestic policy Clinton must walk a tight rope.

Clearly it's not premature to anticipate what Clinton's strategy will be to keep oppressed masses duped and confused. As the commander-in-chief his mandate must be to protect U.S. global interests of Imperialism and military hegemony - that's the bottom line.

After the bombing air strikes against the Iraqi people, Clinton went on record warning the US foes, and reasserting its military might. This was necessary in order to sure up for the Amerikkka masses that the foreign policy would not be compromised.

During Clinton's campaign he called for a "pro-democracy foreign policy" and faulted President Bush's eagerness to befriend potentates and dictators. And speaking at Georgetown University, he called a "New Covenant for American security," based on this crucial assumption: "Our definition of security must include common threats to all people." The success of any foreign policy is its domestic support by career diplomats, CIA experts, the voting masses, and the imperialistic national security machinery.

Editor's note: reprinted from February 1993.

Angola

cont. from page 12

Is this the punishment the people deserve when they freely choose their leaders and political parties? Certainly not....

Will the international community allow that today a political party practices genocide simply because it lost the elections? I do not think so.

In Angola, UNITA violates fundamental Human Rights through some of the most inhuman and cruel methods, such as:

- * Persecution and assassination of members of other political parties.
- * Obstruction of free travelling and displacement of people through the mining of roads and bridges while attacking military civilian settlements.
- * Obstruction of people to go to their fields to look for food so that they can starve to death in towns.
- * Destruction and poisoning wells for portable water so that people can die of thirst or poison.
- * Destructing energy supplies etc.

This is how UNITA has destroyed a large part of the country's infrastructures, while not

allowing the development of other political parties in the areas it has militarily occupied.... This is what the Angolans are trying to refuse and that is why we would also like

It is very important to show to UNITA they cannot go on killing people without an important reaction from the world community.

to call upon all those States and individuals who support UNITA, to help and encourage her to discover the virtues of Democracy, as there can be only one winner at a time, while the other still stands a chance to be in opposition and contest a next time...

Under these circumstances, it becomes urgent that the second package of sanctions be implemented.... It is very important to show to UNITA they cannot go on killing people without an important reaction from the world community.

Fighting Racism

cont. from page 14

related intolerance. The US introduced an amendment that added "anti-Semitism." The position of some countries was that once you highlight any particular form of racism, all others become secondary. But the US was adamant on keeping that amendment in. Several Arab and African countries then insisted that if anti-Semitism were going to be included then anti-Black, Negrophobia, anti-Islam and anti-Arab must be part of the resolution. And that was the position that was finally adopted. Another small victory.

With Mr. Glele's appointment the opportunity now exists for us to implement Malcolm's strategy to bring the US under the international spotlight. African people in particular must now take the initiative in requesting that Mr. Glele investigate racism in the US. Our requests must include specific reasons why he should come here, e.g. incidents of racism of which you have direct or indirect knowledge; reports, studies, statistics, etc that show the systemic racism facing people of color in the US - e.g. police brutality, poor education, inferior medical care, dilapidated housing, homelessness, mistreatment/discrimination in the criminal justice system, etc. Write:

Mr. Maurice Glele-Ahananzo
Special Rapporteur on Racism, Racial
Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related
Intolerance

Centre for Human Rights,

Palais des Nations

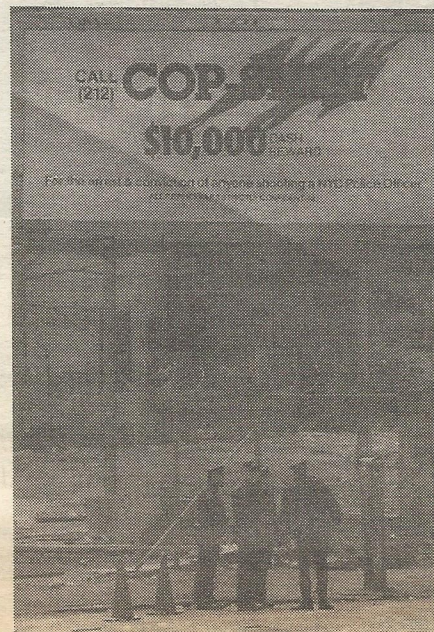
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland

Please send us a copy as well:
Dec. 12th Movement/POB 1283/
Lincolnton Station/New York, NY 10037.

B L A C K YOUTH

cont. from page 6

the state occasionally suffers losses, such as a cop killed, due to the sheer proliferation of weapons and the callous attitude towards life which has developed among the most alienated. But the bourgeoisie's sheer cold-bloodedness even turns such losses into benefits for their campaign. The death of every cop (who is always a "hero") is accompanied by calls for the



death penalty and reiteration of the propaganda that a policeman's life is more important than that of an ordinary citizen. The search for the assassin whose act has "attacked the very fabric of society" justifies the suspension of civil liberties in communities of color. New Yorkers saw that in the undeclared state of emergency that was declared in the Black community when the police were seeking Larry Davis (aka Adam Abdul Hakim) who had escaped unscathed in a legendary shootout with police in 1985. The cordoning off and sudden invasions of the community were accompanied by house to house searches and break-ins without a warrant until he was captured.

In mid-March of this year, the Manhattan and the Bronx were the scenes of random and arbitrary stops and searches of Black/Latino men who were being sought for the killing of a cop who had caught them in the middle an attempted robbery.

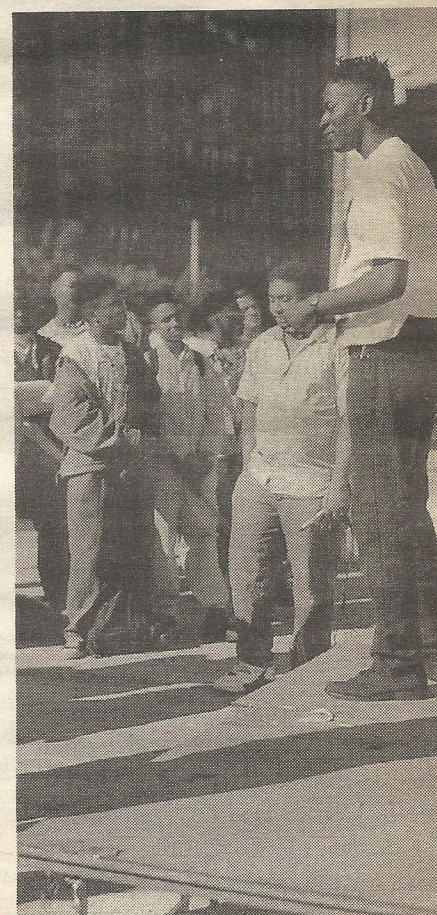
Those who attend college may temporarily evade the armed force of the state on the street. But even in that situation, there are no guarantees. When "open admissions" was instituted in New York's City University in the early 1970s, Black and Latino students entered in record numbers. Shortly thereafter, what had been a free institution began charging tuition. By 1994, these Black and Latino students are facing admissions criteria and rising tuition fees which will diminish their ranks. Just as

importantly, they see the Chancellor, Ann - Reynolds, proposing changes which will make science and technology, keys to employment, nearly unavailable in the institutions in their communities. As their hopes for a secure future are shattered and their resistance increases, they too will be forced to confront the armed force of the state. The massive protests in 1989-90 against tuition cuts led to building takeovers and battles with the police and security guards resulting in numbers of arrests. In response the City University has instituted more stringent security measures on campus and reduced community access to its facilities.

In this regard, we must recall the lessons of our recent history. During the 1960s, there were many students who thought that their status protected them from the violence of an emerging fascism. They protested the war in Vietnam and demanded Black Studies. Police beat up students on the campus of that bastion of liberalism Harvard University. The National Guard killed unarmed students at Kent State and Jackson State.

The ultimate irony faces those who've entered the armed forces. In that capacity, they are supposed to function as an arm of the state. But most of them entered for economic and educational reasons, not patriotic ones. As the Persian Gulf War demonstrated, fighting in a war was the furthest thing from their minds. Those who openly refused to fight were incarcerated. Those who reluctantly participated faced the reality of dying in defense of US economic interests.

As the 20th century comes to a close, we as a people must be clear that developing fascism, the unadorned armed force of the state, is a threat to us all, but targets our youth in particular. With that understanding, we will be able to develop the strategy and tactics necessary to win.



Letters To The Editor

View From the Field...

Malcolm X in his classical presentation of class struggle within the Black Nation, characterizes his status as a "Field Negro," a part of the masses of Black people whose relationship to the slave-master was the sting of the lash.

It is this viewpoint and support ATM welcomes and encourages. From you in the racist schools to the penal colonies, from the barracks of American mercenary troops to the death houses called hospitals.

From the wretched of the Earth...

Dear Editor,

The CIA is a law enforcement apparatus which was created by the capitalists, primarily to maintain imperialism and to oppress people of color, both nationally and internationally. The recent revelation that Aldrich Ames and his wife spied for Russia while employed by the CIA, continues the history of the CIA, working on any level to further capitalism. As the CIA continues to compromise the national security of the nation, it reveals the decaying stages of capitalism.

It is imperative that African people, as well as all other peoples of color understand that the main objective of the capitalists, with the assistance of the CIA, is to prevent the economic independence of people of color.

These most recent acts of espionage should not surprise people of color, because we know the history of the CIA. We know that while publicizing a "war on drugs," the CIA have imported millions of dollars worth of drugs into non-

white communities, as well as attacked and/or worked to discredit and destabilize the governments of Haiti, Panama, Libya, Iraq, Nicaragua and others, while continuously attempting to destroy the economical system of Cuba. In addition, people of color must not forget that the CIA is directly responsible for the death of Patrice Lumumba.

African people and all people of color must unite as a collective force against the enemy. However, we must admit that the enemy is capitalism and we must be clear that the CIA is the state apparatus used to continue to exploit and oppress us. We must refuse to be misled by the fake propaganda dispensed by the US government and the CIA. Records indicate that Agent Ames and his wife were spying for years! They were kept under surveillance for a number of those years! Why is this now a major new item? What is the hidden agenda as the media keeps us occupied with the "lavish gifts the spies purchased"?

It is a detrimental act for people

of color to sit back and feel safe, thinking that agencies such as the CIA, and the FBI and the local police are our protectors. Clearly, we are being attacked from without and within. It is up to all people of color to free ourselves from our common enemy. The enemy is capitalism.

Sincerely,
Anne Jackson

Shatilla refugee camps.

Perhaps the ADL believes these tragic acts against humanity are excusable when committed by Israel. It is imperative that people in general and Jews in particular, not allow the emotional fallout from the Holocaust to obscure the dangerous myth that condemnation of Israel's policies or anti-Zionist views should be equated with anti-Semitism.

Sincerely,
David Silver



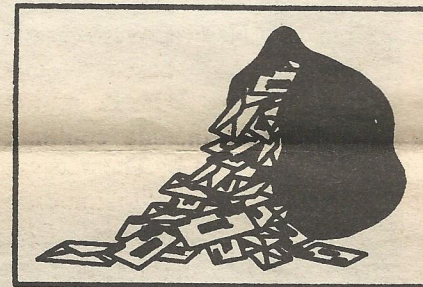
Dear Editor,

As a combat veteran of World War Two, and a Jew, I must take strong exception to the letter by the Chair of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Mr. Salberg. He has clearly implied that the American Council for Judaism is an anti-Semitic organization because of its alleged anti-Zionist views.

Yet, the ADL is an organization that has seen fit to praise Chancellor Kohl of Germany for belatedly condemning neo-Nazi violence even though this same Kohl has laid wreaths at the graves of Waffen SS war criminals at Bitburg just a couple of years ago and allowed former SS officers (Bruderschaft) to meet on German soil even though such meetings are prohibited by the decisions of the War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg.

Zionism is and has been the ruling ideology since the founding of Israel. An ideology that preaches separatism (there is "us" and the "goys") and that the Jews are chosen (and thus superior). This racist view is the flip side of the Nazi concept of "untermenschen" (inferior people). This thinking is put into practice by the Israeli government in the second class treatment meted out to Israeli Arabs, Jewish people of color and the extreme oppression of Palestinians who resist occupation.

The Israeli government has supported and given the racist South African regime nuclear technology and has helped forces in Chile overthrow the elected Allende government. The Israeli government has also helped to train the death squads and the contras in Central America. And this same government that now claims Jerusalem as its capital, committed atrocities in Lebanon against women and children at the Sabra and



Mail all letters to:
ATM - 28 Vesey St., Suite 2298, NY, NY 10007

Nation Time!

In the names of our long and not forgotten ancestors, the strongest of Allah's creations and the first of Allah's creations.

Revolutionary regards (ATM):

I along with a few more Afrikan Uhuru fighters have just got done reading 4 last years issues of ATM which was forwarded to me by a comrade of our government PGRNA. And we are liking all of what you comrades at ATM are printing. And we love all of you comrades at ATM and can't wait until the day comes when we can get out there with you comrades and fight or even kill if that is what it takes to win the liberation of our peoples and all oppressed people. We want to send a word out to the sell outs... who are pushing that dope in our hoods: you better shut em' down because the real party is just 'bout to begin! You gotta choice, you either work with the masses or be looked upon as an Adwoan! [sic] The year of the dreads is coming and running after you....

Yours in war,
Rashid Zulu Ashlq
All Power to the People!

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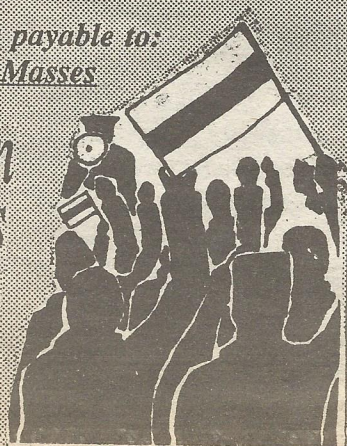
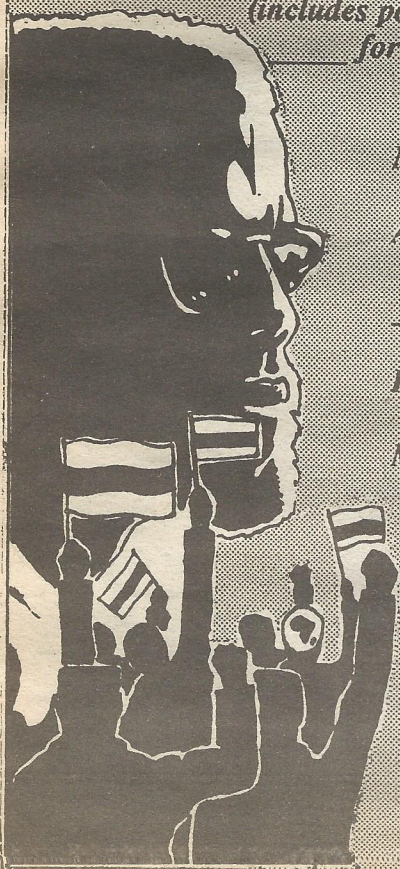
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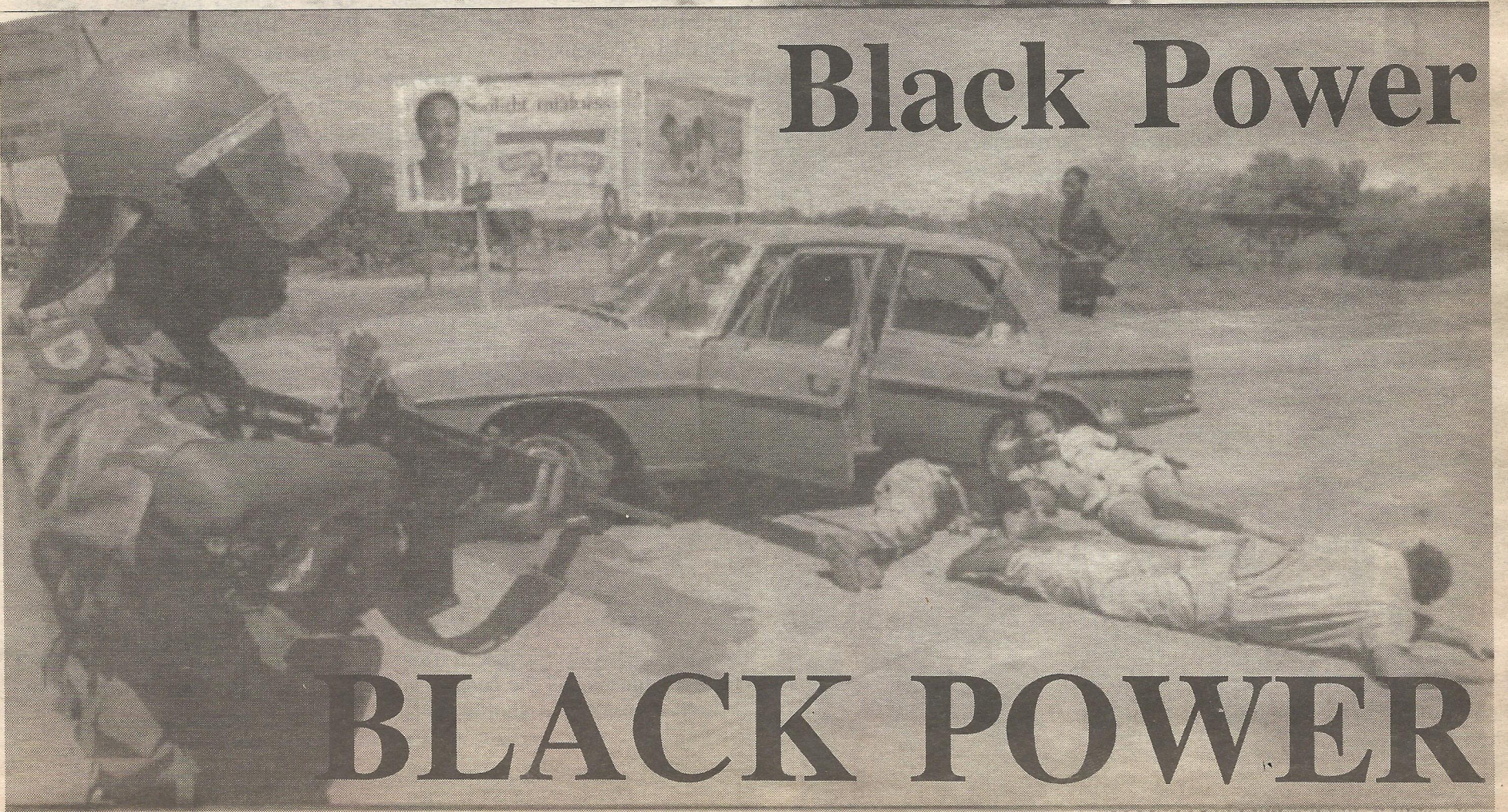
Human
Rights
Now!



*Where There is Repression,
There Must Be Resistance!*



Black Power



BLACK POWER